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1882.

*The Society, as a body, is not responsible for the opinions advanced  
in the following pages.*



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## P R E F A C E.

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IN issuing the present volume, the Council desire to express their regret at the long delay in its publication. Their excuse is that some of the Papers did not reach the hands of the Publishing Committee until the early months of this year. The Papers are arranged, as far as possible, in the order in which they were written; but, owing to the delay on the part of some of the Authors in sending in their Papers, it has not been found practicable to observe this order in all cases.

The Council wish to call the attention of the Society to the fact that they especially desire to encourage original investigation.

It is requested that Papers intended for reading at the monthly meetings be sent to the Secretary at least one month previous to the date at which they are intended to be read, in order that they may be submitted to the Council for approval.

The list of Fellows is believed to be correct. If any error be discovered, it is desirable that early intimation be sent to the Secretary.

The Council desire to express their thanks to Dr. Zerffi for his kindness in preparing the index.

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The principal objects of the Society are :—

I. To promote and foster the study of History on *general scientific* principles.

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III. To assist in the publication of rare and valuable State papers, or any other documents throwing light on the customs, manners, and mode of life of different nations.

IV. To publish translations of standard historical works.

V. To hold monthly meetings for the reading and discussion of papers on historical subjects.

VI. To publish a selection of the papers read. This has been done, hitherto, by *annual* publications of the Transactions of the Society, of which ten volumes have been printed. "The New Series" of the publications of the "Royal Historical Society" will shortly be issued in QUARTERLY PARTS, containing papers by the Fellows, and BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES of the more important English and Foreign historical publications.

VII. To grant from time to time prizes for Historical Essays.

The Society's Library is open to Fellows from 10 o'clock A.M. to 4 o'clock P.M., except on Saturdays, when it closes at 2 o'clock P.M. Fellows are allowed the use of the Books at their private residences. Donations of Books to the Library are received by the Librarian.

The Annual Subscription to the Society is One Guinea per annum, and is payable to the Treasurer, WILLIAM HERBAGE, London and South-Western Bank, 7, Fenchurch Street, London, E.C., on the first day of the session, viz. 1st of November. The Entrance Fee at present is One Guinea.

The Monthly Meetings are held in the Society's Rooms, at 8 o'clock P.M., every *third* THURSDAY of the month, from NOVEMBER to JUNE inclusive. Fellows are supplied with Order-books to enable them to admit friends to the meetings.

Nomination Forms, and any further information, will be furnished on application to the Secretary,

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31st May, 1882.

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KINGS' BRIEFS:

THEIR PURPOSES AND HISTORY.

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*[Read before the Royal Historical Society.]*

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I.—DEFINITION AND PURPOSES.

KINGS' Briefs, under a variety of designations—as Kings' Letters, Orders in Council, Patents of Alms, Letters Patent, Fire Briefs, Church Briefs, Charity Briefs, Commissions, Royal



Letters, &c., &c.—have played an important part in the social history of this country, and yet our national historians have been remarkably silent concerning them ; as indeed they have been upon many other matters of great social interest. It seems hardly necessary to say that the term “ Brief ” has several significations. In its more common acceptation it is a short writing or epitome, as an abridgment of a law case, made out for instruction to counsel, or indeed any short statement of facts. But there are “ Apostolical Briefs,” being letters or written messages of the Pope, addressed to princes or magistrates, respecting matters of public concern.\* It is not to these exclusively that we must look for light in the present instance. The word was, in early times, written “ Breve,” and Cowell, in his Law Dictionary, says, “ Any writ or precept from the King was called *Breve* ; which we still retain in the name of *Brief*, the King’s Letters Patent to poor sufferers, for Collection.” The general title of “ King’s Briefs ” used in England, is traceable to the fact that these documents, under whatever designation adopted, or for whatever purpose designed, were in later times issued under the direct authority of the sovereign ; at first under his personal authority, but later under the authority of the Council, through the Lord Chancellor. But it will be made clear that the Church exercised the right of issuing them, not only prior to, but apparently coeval with the sovereign at one period.

The purposes for which the briefs, of which I now propose to treat, were issued, vary considerably ; yet it may be taken for granted that the design was usually one of a charitable character, but not always so. Great calamities, either to communities or individuals, probably first gave rise to their use. By their aid the losses of the few could be relieved or mitigated by the contributions of the many. I will here

\* Those Papal briefs are written short without preface or preamble, and on paper, which distinguishes them from “ Bulls,” which are written on parchment. Again, “ Briefs ” are sealed with red wax and the seal of the fisherman, or St. Peter in a boat and always in the presence of the Pope.—*Vincent*.

classify the more general of their uses, which will become developed as we proceed :

- A. *Great Calamities*, as (1) Fires ; (2) Floods ; (3) Earth-quakes ; (4) Hailstorms ; (5) Irruptions of the Sea ; (6) Shipwrecks ; (7) Landslips ; (8) Plague Visitations ; (9) Restoring bridges washed away and building new ones.
- B. *Religious or Benevolent Purposes*, as (1) Building or restoring churches ; (2) Founding or sustaining Hospitals ; (3) Helping the poor and afflicted ; (4) Redeeming persons sold into captivity ; (5) Relieving communities suffering persecution for conscience' sake ; (6) Relieving persons robbed either land or by pirates at sea.
- C. *National Projects*. (1) Founding a Royal fishery ; (2) To repair damages resulting from civil war ; (3) To relieve soldiers wounded in the wars.

## II.—MODE OF ISSUING BRIEFS.

The machinery by which a brief was obtained, where the occasion was not one of such an obvious character as to put the sovereign or his council in voluntary motion, appears to have been, in early times, through the interest of some nobleman or person of distinction attached to the court of the sovereign. In later times (17th century) by certificate of Quarter Sessions ; or, when in the city of London, by the mayor and aldermen (*see* 1712). I do not think it by any means follows that a petition for a brief was assented to as of course ; but no doubt the result was much influenced by the rank and position of those who certified on the merits of the case.

A Patent of Alms was another form of brief intended to be used personally, and without the organized machinery used in the case of ordinary briefs.

The direct object of the brief was always the same, viz., to obtain contributions from the charitable throughout the kingdom towards mitigating the severity of calamities happening to places or persons ; or for raising money for purposes likely

to invoke general sympathy. Hence the brief set forth, in more or less detail, the circumstances which had called it forth, and dilated upon the urgency of the case.

Briefs which were not purely personal—as granting a right to solicit alms by personal appeal—were usually addressed to the clergy and churchwardens of the parishes, hamlets, and townships of the kingdom. They were directed to be read *in extenso* from the pulpit during the service, and at its close the clerk stood at the door with the money-box, exclaiming, “Please remember the Brief.” At a later period this was often followed by a house-to-house collection made by the churchwardens and beadles of the parish. The fund, so called, was placed in the custody of the churchwardens, to be forwarded as the brief might direct. It ultimately became the practice to hand over the money to the chancellor of the diocese on the periodical visitations of the bishops. The sum actually collected was usually endorsed on the back of the document (this was, at a later period, required to be done in words, not figures) which was returned therewith, and in many cases it was ridiculously small; not unfrequently “nil.” The briefs being returned along with the money collected upon them, had the effect of taking them out of circulation, and hence they are in some degree scarce; for in bulk they were either destroyed as useless, or allowed to rot and moulder away. The officiating clergymen, in many cases, made entries of the amounts collected, as also of the purposes of collection, in the parish registers, and but for these our information would be very much more limited than it now is.

PARISH REGISTERS, 1535.—This reference to *Parish Registers* as a source of information requires to be qualified by reference to another fact, which is, that these Registers were not kept at all until 1535 (27 Henry VIII.), when Thomas Cromwell (Lord Essex) issued a mandate to the clergy of England directing them to record the deaths which occurred in their respective parishes—the dread of the Plague, and a desire of the Court to be kept acquainted with the location and extent of its ravages, being perhaps the moving cause of



this order. But it was long after this before they became at all general. I shall have to make many references to them later on.

It still remains to state that many briefs were issued which neither had, nor were designed to have, such a general circulation as is here spoken of. These were Charitable Briefs issued for purely local purposes, which will be indicated as we proceed.

### III.—NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

I have taken some pains in view of ascertaining if any of the Nations of Antiquity had any system in force analogous to that of Collections on Briefs. The practice of meeting great calamities, such as drought, fires, floods, &c., by a general contribution of the people, dates back to a very early period. The first traces are to be found in the early communes of Assyria, nearly 3,000 years ago ; but the practice unquestionably prevailed much earlier. In these early communes judges, priests, and magistrates were appointed for each town and district, with power to levy contributions from each member of the commune, to provide a fund against sudden calamities. In the case of fire more especially, but of other events generally, if the judges were satisfied that it was accidental, they empowered the magistrates to assess the members of the commune either in kind or money ; and in the event of any member being unable through poverty to meet his share of the contribution the deficiency was made up from the common fund. The practice is to be traced in operation in Rome in the first century of the Christian era, for does not Martial, in his Epigrams (Book iii. 52), exclaim :

“*Empta domus fuerat tibi, Tongiliane, ducenis ;  
Abstulit hanc nimium casus in Urbe frequens.  
Collata est decies. Rogo, non potes ipse videri  
Incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum ?*”

which may be done into English thus : “ You bought, friend Tongilianus, a house at a heavy price ; but it fell down, as too often happens at Rome. It was rebuilt at five times the

original cost. I ask you, Tongilianus, whether anyone would not naturally think that you had set fire to it yourself?"

Twelve hundred years later we trace the custom as prevailing in Northern Europe. By Article XI. of the Law—*Cora*, or *Keure*, as it is termed—promulgated by Thomas, Count of Flanders, and Johanna his Countess, in 1240, there is recited the following community of liability, known as the custom of *Furnes*: "In quacunqve villa combustio facta fuerit occulte, tota villa statim solvat damnum per illos quos eligent coratores; quod si malefactor sciri poterit, bannietur perpetuo, et solvetur damnum de bonis ejus; residuum vero cedat comiti. Qui vero de nachbrant acclamatus fuerit, per quinque coratores purgare se poterit; alioquin suspendetur, omnia bona sua erunt in gratia comitis, restituto prius damno illi qui damnum habuit: si prius tamen querimoniam fecit," which may be rendered as follows: "In whatever house a fire shall have been secretly made, *the whole place instantly makes good the damage through those whom the guardians select*; but if the malefactor can be found out, he is banished for ever, and the damage is made good out of his property; the residue indeed he yields up to the court. Truly he who can exculpate himself from the accusation will be commended by those guardians; but until he can do so he is suspended. All his goods will be in the pleasure of the court; the damage being first restored to him who has the injury; if, however, he has first made complaint, *i.e.* given due notice."

In China to-day a modification of the same principle exists, while in Russia a like practice prevails in many of the eastern towns; as to villages, the lord or lords of the soil usually bear the burden. How the practice became changed into the wider appeals made by briefs is too large a question to enter upon now. The system of charitable benevolence inculcated by the Church of Rome may afford some solution.

## IV.—EARLY BRIEFS IN ENGLAND.

1206. The earliest traces of the issuing of briefs I have been able to meet with in this country, are in connection with the *Redemption of Christian Captives*, taken or sold into slavery—about which there is a great history to be unfolded some day. I shall have to refer to it as we advance. King John issued the Proclamation following somewhere about 1206. "John the King, to all, &c., greeting: Know that we have taken into our protection the messengers of the House of St. Thomas of Acon; and we pray you that when they come to petition you for alms for the redemption of the captives of the land of Jerusalem, that you receive them kindly, and charitably assist them out of your goods. We further forbid any one to impede them or do them any injury." This clearly indicates the granting of a Patent of Alms, which was the form of brief probably most in use at this early period.—("Remembrancia," pp. 51, 52, note.)

1247. The earliest Church Briefs, *i.e.*, issued under the authority of the Church, which I have met with in English records, is one under date 1247. It was a brief from William Bishop of Sabina, in the fourth year of Pope Innocent IV. (A.D. 1247), soliciting the alms of the faithful in favour of the *Hospital* of St. John the Evangelist, at *Cambridge*, which was unable, from want of means, to take in all the sick poor resorting thereto. In return for their alms, all givers were to have forty days remission from penance (*vide* First Report Hist. MSS. Com., p. 74).

This brief, although issued for the benefit of an institution located in England, and although circulated in England, was circulated abroad. It may have been from the fact that the English monarch (Henry III.) had refused to grant one for the purpose; or more likely it was one intended to be of limited operation only, addressed for instance to the particular Order to which the hospital belonged.

1303. This year a grant was made to the Prior of the Church of Holy Trinity (Dublin) of a power to collect alms



for repairing the Church aforesaid. This was probably followed by a "Patent of Alms;" for under date 14th May, same year (31 Edw. I.), a licence was granted to the Prior and Canons of the Holy Trinity to send brother Henry de Cork, one of their canons, throughout the kingdom to collect alms for repairing their Church and Priory.

1337. In the records of the Borough of Southampton there occurs, under this date, the following entries: "Chancellor's clerks for briefs, 20s." "Sealing seven briefs, 3s. 6d." (or 6d. each); but the purposes of the briefs are not stated (Roger's "History of Agriculture and Prices," vol. ii., p. 613).

15th century, 1403-26. During this century frequent applications appear to have been made to the Lord Chancellor—who then usually held high rank in the Church, in addition to being the highest officer of the Crown—for Patents of Alms in respect of bodily injury, or loss of property, or captivity, resulting from service in the wars of the period. The first petition of this class met with is one addressed to the "very reverend father in God and most gracious lord the Chancellor of England," and states that the suppliant was "wounded in the right breast in the wars of the most noble prince, your father, that is to say, in his expedition into Spain." This indication points to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards of Winchester, who held the Great Seal on three several occasions between the years 1403 and 1426—the expedition being evidently that undertaken by his father, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in prosecution of his claim to the crown of Castile. The document asks the grant of a Patent of Alms to last for one year, and is written in the Norman French of the period.

A similar petition of Johan Sayer, of the County of Kent, "un lige homme de notre seigneur le Roy," sets forth that whilst the said Johan was engaged in the wars of the "most puissant prince, the King's grandfather," in which he was mischievously and cruelly maimed, his houses were suddenly burnt, together with all his goods and chattels, so that "il ne suit autre remede sinon de aler el pays mendisant": for

which purpose he prays the Letters Patent of our Lord the King, "*priante as bons gentz du pays de lour almoigne dont vivre.*"

Another was by "Johanne," the wife of Henry Goderych, begging for a "protection dalmoigne" under the King's seal, to enable her to collect the alms of good Christians towards the ransom of her husband, who had been taken prisoner on the seas by the French, and conveyed to Boulogne, his ransom being fixed at £20. And similar petitions in aid of their ransom were preferred by William Robynson de Rothebury, wounded and taken prisoner by the Scotch, by whom his ransom was fixed at ten marks; and by John Man, taken prisoner by the French, in a "crayere" sailing to Honfleur, and imprisoned in the Castle of Crotoy, his ransom being fixed at ten livres. The latter prays for a "protection dalmoigne, directe sibien as gentz spirituelxs comme temporelxs," which Mr. R. S. Bird, F.S.A.,\* considers, from the special mention of the clergy, approximates more nearly than some of the preceding to the modern briefs.

The following petition from an "old soldier" residing in *Plymouth* is remarkable alike for the quaintness of its spelling and the earnestness of its prayer.

"Unto oure highe and mooste reverent fader in God and graciouse lord Archbishop of Cawnturbury and Chaunceller of Engeland.

"Bisechith mekely youre poure orator and perpetuell bedeman Richard Harrolde dwellynge in Plummouthe that it wolde please unto youre graciouse lordshipp to knowen how that youre saide bisechere is ifalle into grete poverte, standynge in grete age, and he may not helpe hymselfe, for as moche as he hathe ispende his tyme in ye Kynges werres by yende see, there beynge in prison of longe tyme durynge, to his grete undoynge for evermore withoute ye helpe and ye socoure of good mennes almes; Wherefore please it unto youre full reverent faderhod and graciouse lordshipp that ye wolde fowchesaffe atte the reverens of God and of his dereworth passion to have compassion and pitee over hym for ye pite that Criste

\* From whose article in vol. iii. of the *Antiquary* I quote mainly in this section of my paper.



*hadde over Mary Mawdeleyne* graciously to grawnte to youre saide bisechere your lettre of pardon under youre graciouse seale, as he evere more desyreth effectually to pray for yow graciouse lorde, and for alle youre full noble worthy annsetres, atte the reverens of God and in werke of charitee."

The importance with which these Concessions, or Patents of Alms, were regarded by those who obtained them is forcibly illustrated by the following petition from one who had been robbed of his, together with other goods and chattels, by his "hiredman."

*"To the Right Reverent Fader in God my worthy and gracious lorde The Archbishop of Caunterbury, Chaunceller of Englande.*

"Besecheth mekly pore bedman Thomas Glasebroke of the Towne of Westmynster in the countee of Midd. that hath been in the werrys in Fraunce with Kynge Henry the Fyfthe, that God assoille his sowl, and also with oure Souverain lorde that now ys, of longe tyme duryng in the grounde of Fraunce, and ther he hath ben taken prisoner and ofte tymes distrussed, and there strykyn thorough the hede with a quarell wherby he ys empeired and *hindred of his hiringe*, and the quarell hede left in the nekke bone ; and so was brought by John of Bury and other Gentilmen to Stalworth and so by the Grace of God he gatte oute the quarell hede oute of hys nek-bone or ellys he hadde ben dede ; and sitthe afterward stryken thorough the lefte arme with a spere bitune the elbowe and the shulder ; and Maister Thomas of Conynghapelane heled up the wounde, but yet he ys mayhemed for ever ; and the seid Thomas hath solde his londs and his goodes and yet they suffise not to paie his dettes ne his finaunces, but he have helpe of you and Cristen people ; And wheras ye of youre high and good grace graunted to the seid Thomas a *Commission for to gedir almons*, the same commission *was stolye from hym by Richard Helyer his hiredman*, and other goodes. The (which) Richard ys now arrested by the diligent laboure of the seide Thomas and emprisoned in Maydeston, Wherefore like it to youre holy faderhode and gracious lordeshippe to send downe to your Steward of Maydeston charginge and comaundinge hym that the seid Richard be kepte stille in prison unto the tyme that he hath contented and agreed the seid Thomas or taking away of his Commission and other goodes, *whiche takynge away of his seid Commission ys perissching and destruccion*

*of hym and his wyfe, For, and he hadde hadde ys Commission it wolde by his diligent laboure have brought hym an hys wyf oute of dette and danger; And youre seid pore besecher and bedman shal pray for you while he levith."*

1423. This year (1 Henry VI.) a brief was issued for the repair—almost for the preservation it would seem—of that fine monument of Gothic architecture, *Salisbury Cathedral*, which has some peculiar features. It is too long to quote entire, but its substance was as follows: "The stone belfry, standing almost in the centre of the Cathedral (*campanile petrosimum stans quasi in medio ecclesie cathedralis Sarum*), of the foundation and patronage of the kings of England, was in such danger of ruin that if not speedily repaired it would fall and destroy the whole church, and do other mischief and damage. The revenues for repairing both the church and the steeple were only a small annual income, appropriated to that purpose by the late Bishop (Metford), and nothing more, from the first foundation of the church to the present time. The members of the church had applied to the King for leave to augment the said income by donation of lands and tenements. The King granted to the Dean and Chapter leave to take and hold the same, with the advowsons of churches to the amount of £50 per annum, as well for the purposes of repairs as for anniversaries commemorating the donors, or any other uses appointed by the donors, *notwithstanding the statute of mortmain*" (*vide Rymer's "Fœdera,"* x. 267).

1538-44. The following, from a palsied clergyman, is supposed to have been presented between these years (Henry VIII.) and is more after the manner of petitions for modern briefs.

*"To the right honorable Sir Thomas Audley, Knight of the noble order of the Garter, Lord Chauncellour of England, Denyse Fyll' Clerk wysseth the grace of Almighty God.*

*"The same self Denyse, being a poor simple creture and your faithfull oratour, most humbly besecheth your Lordship forasmuch as he is extremely taken and vexed with the palsy that he can scarcely or never a whytt speake, so that he is not able to celebrate*

nor say mass nor hath not, neyther is lyke to have, any substance or goods wherewith he shall be able to fynde remedy agaynst povertie, that it may nowe please your Lordshyp to give and graunt unto hym a lycense under the kyngs brode seall to ask and gether the charitable almesse and gyfte of the kyngs liege people within his graces dominion of this his realme of Ynglond and Wales duryng the naturall lyfe of the said Denyse, beseching your honourable Lordshyp that in the same newe lycence it may be conteyned and mensioned in exprest words that the curates and other ecclesiasticall persones be commaunded by the forme thereof *sub pena contempt* to exorte their parisshe to tendre and regard the Kyngs Majesties lycence. And to move them to devocion, *And that of the churchwardens may go with your said oratour to help hym, and also to aske and take for your said oratour every man and womans devocion that be dysposed to gyve anything*, which said clauses were not thus expressed in myne olde lycence, and therefore the curate and churchwardeyns wold say nor do anythyng for hym, but suffre hym according to the tenour of the same. In tendre consideration whereof the same Denyse humbly besecheth your Lordshyp to pardon his boldness at this tyme for that he troubleth your Lordshyp agayn. And to be so good Lord unto hym as to graunt him his said request, And he shall dayly pray for the good increase and mayntenaunce of your honorable astate."

1547-53. The following document is recorded with the "Privy Seals *temp* Edward VI.," and therefore dates from 1547-53, and as it bears the Royal Sign Manual appears to have been used as a warrant for making out the patent applied for. It gives an insight into the mode of procuring ransom by those who had fought against "the enemyes of God, the Turke," and had been captured. The prisoner on leaving hostages was allowed to go forth and collect his own ransom.

"*R.E. To the right high and mighty Prince the King of England and Fraunce.*

"Piteously sheweth unto your good and gracioux highness Dimitrius de Oryson, Knyght of Constantynoble and late Treasurer unto the Emperour of Grece, that where as your said suppliaunt for the mayntenynce of Christen faith hath been taken two tymes by the enemyes of God, the Turke, that is to say, the first time at



Constantynoble and the seconde tyme at Negrepoint, and is raun-  
 somed by the said enemyes at the some of MCCCCC Dukats, and for  
 suretie of payment of the same hath left his wyf and his V. sonnes in  
 plegge with the said enemyes, And it is so gracioux lord that your  
 saide, suppliant is not of pour to quietowte his said wyf and childrein,  
 to hym grete hevynesse, without the help almes relief and socour  
 of Christen people. Please it therfore your gracioux highness the  
 premisses to consider & in wey of almes and pitee to graunt unto  
 your said suppliant and to his felowe your gracious lettres patents  
 in due form to them to be made and to endure the space of a yere  
 that they beforce of your said lettres may goo in this your Realme  
 and receyve the alms of your subjects in the same toward the  
 quityngowte of his saide wyf and childrein. And this at the reverence  
 of God and in wey of pitee, And your said suppliant and his said  
 wyf and childrein shall pray to God for the preservacion of your  
 most noble and roial astate."

1562. This year a commission or Patent of Alms was  
 granted for collecting of Honey and other things within the  
 province of the Archbishop of Dublin for the use of St.  
 Patrick's Church.

#### V.—RIGHTS OF THE CITY OF LONDON ASSERTED.

1582. This year something of a conflict between the City  
 of London and the Church appears to have arisen regarding  
 the practice of collecting upon briefs within the City. This is  
 set forth in a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Lords of the  
 Council (dated 7th April) wherein he acknowledges their letters  
 touching the relief of Lucas Argentine, and informs them that  
 the Bishop of the See of London had never interest to give  
 license to take order for any collections in the city; but the  
 permission and ordering thereof and the execution of Her  
 Majesty's [Elizabeth's] commandments therein, had always  
 pertained to the authorities of the City as a matter of govern-  
 ance. *This right and ancient usage* the City trusted would be  
*continued to them.* In November last Argentine had made an  
 application, not recommended by Her Majesty, praying to be  
 allowed to beg for his relief upon certain days, and five pounds

had been given to him. The collections made at Easter had been for many years devoted for the relief of Her Majesty's natural subjects captives in Turkey and Barbary—of whom many had been redeemed and openly showed—to the great comfort of the English people, and there still remained many to redeem. If the contributors should learn the collection was to be made for this stranger it would be less at this time, and hindered from time to come. *The Lord Mayor recommended that the collections for the release of English captives should be extended into other cities and ports of the realm.* The points of practice proclaimed in this letter throw light upon events which followed (*vide* "Remembrancia," p. 53).

1584. This year (reign of Elizabeth) a petition was presented to the Lord Chancellor and others of the Privy Council, by one John Jackson, or Chapman, of Ipswich, which after setting forth that in consequence of great loss by robbery and otherwise, the suppliant was unable to pay his creditors, who, "such is their uncharitable and uncontionable mynds," refuse to take yearly payments (instalments) according to his ability, and "having no regard to his hindrance, nor his charge of wife and six small children," sought daily to arrest him; beseeches them to intervene between him and his said creditors, and also to grant to him "the collection of well-disposed people their charity in Ipswich and in the county of Sussex [? Suffolk], and Essex, towards the payment of his debts." This petition, if granted—of which I find no record—was surely a new way of paying old debts!—(*Antiquary*, iii., p. 169.)

1586. This year a brief was issued under the authority of an English bishop, viz., John (Aylmer) Bishop of London, for collections for relief of the bearer, Thomas Butter, of Colchester, Gunpowder maker, "who being at his work for the making of gunpowder, by sudden misfortune was pitifully burnt, and spoyled of his eyes and armes, apparent yet to behold." This is of the class known as "Charitable Briefs" (*vide* "Cat. of Broad-sides of the Society of Anti-quaries," London).

1592. It is stated in Lyson's "Environs of London," on the



authority of the Burleigh papers, that in 1592 there was an office for granting protection to poor people who should go about to collect alms, and that the office at that date was held by Matthew Stuart. The statement requires confirmation (*vide i.*, p. 252).

1621. The following remarkable circumstances are narrated regarding a brief issued in England this year, for the alleged purpose of redeeming "thirteen religious," and to repair an ancient chapel on Mount Golgotha, where our Saviour had suffered, which was built by St. Helen, a British princess. Regarding the brief itself, we trace its existence in various parish registers, &c. In an abstract of Lithgow's "Travels" (vol. xlv., p. 424) there occurs the following, evidently relating to it, and determining it to have been an impudent fraud.

"On Thursday they visited the place where (it is said) the cross grew on which Christ suffered, being 'reserved' by the Greeks, who have a convent built over it. And here our author relates a story of a knavish Greek who came to London to beg a support for the repairs of the decayed monastery; and being entertained and recommended by Gundamore, the Spanish Ambassador, a contribution was granted all over England. But Lithgow meeting this counterfeit rascal in Whitehall, and several courtiers desiring him to try whether this Greek had ever been at Jerusalem, &c., he asked where the convent stood. He replied, 'in Jerusalem, and upon Mount Moriah,' which is false, it being three English miles from the city. Our traveller also posed him further about the situation of Jerusalem, the size of its cloisters, its church, the number of friars, &c., none of which questions he could answer, but stood quivering for fear and shame, having never been in Asia, nor those parts. Whereupon, stealing out of the court, he was no more seen abroad, for he had got at court and in the kingdom above £1,200 sterling" (*vide Gentleman's Magazine*, lix., pp. 524, 525).

#### VI.—BRIEFS IN THE FORM OF LETTERS PATENT.

1625. It was probably during the reign of Charles I. that the sole prerogative of authorizing the issuing of briefs was assumed by the Crown. The granting of letters patent had

been converted by the Stuarts into a prolific source of Crown revenue. In 1625 (1st Car. I.) under date Oxford, August 11, there were issued letters patent authorizing the issuing of briefs for a general collection to be made for the relief of the poor and distressed people in London and Westminster (*vide* "Collection of Proclamations, Car. I., No. 23").

In November of this same year (1625) under date November 11, the Lord Mayor (Allen Cotton) and Aldermen of London, addressed a letter to the council. The great mortality, although it had taken many poor people away, yet had made more poverty by decay of tradesmen. The want and misery were still very great. For their further relief and in satisfaction of £1,000 already disbursed by their lordships' appointment, it is entreated that *the money collected upon briefs may be paid over to the City* (*vide* State Papers. Domestic. Car. I., vol. x., No. 12).

The brief was probably issued, but of this no evidence is available. The request to have the money collected paid over to the City may or may not have a bearing upon the practice which afterwards prevailed of paying moneys collected upon briefs to the Chamberlain of the City of London (see Appendix, No. 2).

1625-6. A new feature is associated with the granting of briefs at this period, and this is the issuing of certificates by Quarter Sessions in support of their claims. Thus amongst the Domestic State Papers of Car. I. (vol. xxxvi., p. 35) it is seen that there were granted between 30th October, 1625, and 22nd September, 1626, no less than eighteen briefs, almost the whole of them upon such certificates from Quarter Sessions. The purposes being, eight for losses by fire; six for repairing of churches; two for losses by sea; one for repairing a wharf and sea breaches at Polperrowe in Cornwall, and one for losses by pirates at sea. Each of these were local or limited briefs for collections to be made in specified counties, varying from two to twenty-one.

In 1626 (May 28) there was a letter from Sir Francis Goodwin, Winchenden (Bucks), to Sec. Conway. Some

briefs had lately been dispersed in those parts by Lawrence Shelter and James Skelton, for the relief of Gregory, Archdeacon of Jerusalem. These papers being suspected to be forgeries, he had detained the parties, and sent up the Privy Seal for examination (*vide* S. P. Dom. Car. I., vol. xxvii., No. 78).

We shall hear a good deal more as we proceed about forgeries and other abuses of King's briefs (see 1633, &c.).

Later in the same year (apparently) a question of another kind arose. There is in the Record Office a minute of a petition that the question of the validity of a grant of the exclusive printing of briefs and other papers printed on one side of the paper, made by the late King to the *Sieur de Boislorée*, but contested by the Stationers' Company, might be left to determination by law; also minute of request of the *Sieur de Boislorée* for a passport and free conveyance for himself and family into France (*vide* S. P. Dom. Car. I. vol. xlv., Nos. 64 and 65).

1627. Early this year (January 23, 1626, old style), there is a record of safe conduct for Contarini Paleologus, a Greek, with liberty of collection at the churches for redeeming his wife, children, and kinsfolks from the servitude of the Turks (*vide* Docquets, Conway Papers, Jan., 1626).

#### VII.—FIRST PRINTED BRIEF—THE PLAGUE.

1630. In this year we meet with the first printed brief recorded. It is dated 26 June (6 Car. I.) and is addressed "To all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and their officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and to all spiritual persons, and also to all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffes, Constables, Churchwardens, and Head Boroughs; and to all Officers of Cities, Boroughs and Towns Corporations, and to all other our Officers, Ministers and subjects whatsoever they be." After reciting that the king had been given to understand both by the humble petition of the inhabitants of the town of *Cambridge*, and by the special recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the



Bishops of London, Winchester and Lincoln, that by means of "a greivous vísitation in this time of the great contagion of the plague," the distressed inhabitants of the said town were left in great necessity and decay, the University having broken up and left their colleges, so that the great number of poor people, who, whilst the scholars continued there, received great relief from them, were now like to famish; and the tradesmen in consequence of their occupation being almost of necessity foreborne were reduced to great want "so that the whole number now receiving relief and maintenance are over 2,800 persons, the charge whereof amounts to £150 per week at least, which charge the University and town are no ways able to disburse, there being left only seven score persons who are able to contribute."

And it is further stated that, taking these things into his princely consideration, and the archbishop and the three bishops above referred to, having certified under their hands the great necessity that the inhabitants of the said town should be speedily relieved, and that they find no better means of doing so than "by the printing and issuing forth of briefs for the collection of the Benevolence of Charitable people within their several Dioceses," His Majesty doth order "that a collection be made of the charitable donations and liberalities of all our loving subjects within the several dioceses of Canterburie, London, Winchester and Lincoln, and in all places within the aforesaid dioceses in manner and form following that is to say"—

(1). All and singular Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of the several churches and chapels, within the dioceses above mentioned, are with all possible speed to publish and recommend this collection to the charity of all well-disposed persons within their churches and precincts, "with an especial exhortation to the people for the better stirring up of their liberal and extraordinary contributions in so good and charitable a deed."

(2) The Chancellors of the said dioceses, together with two or more Justices of the Peace (to be nominated by the

said archbishop and bishops), were to take care of the furthering of the said collection, and "to appoint the constables and other officers to assist the churchwardens and side-men to collect this charitable relief, either in the several churches or from house to house in every parish and precinct, as the minister and churchwardens shall consider to be most behoofull."

(3). The sums so gathered were to be by the minister and churchwardens endorsed on the back of the brief, "in words at length and not in figures," such sums to be delivered to the said Justices of the Peace or Chancellors, together with such brief; to be by them forwarded to the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor of Cambridge.

(4). In the cities of London and Westminster men were to be appointed in like manner to assist the churchwardens in making the said collection.

(5). The brief to endure for one whole year from the date thereof. (*Antiquary* iii., p. 219.)

#### VIII.—FORGED OR COUNTERFEIT BRIEFS.

1633. That such wide facilities for raising money should lead to some abuses, was almost to be expected. The shape the thing took about this period was the issuing of a *fictitious brief*, of which the following is a copy. I have already given an account of a brief fraudulently issued in 1621:—

"Houlte, Feb. 22, 1632-3.—The summe and contents of a Testimoniall or passe shewed by one Savell the bearer thereof under the several handes and seales of Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworthe, Lord Deputy of Ireland and President of the North, James Lord Sanker, Thomas Lord Thockenbridge, Sir William Ellis, Sir Thos. Tillsley, with the Lord Bishop of London, and Sir Julius Cæsar, Maister of the Rowles, certifyinge in the said Testimoniall as the said bearer affirmed, to the effect followinge, vizt:—"Forasmuch as the bearers hereof, James Savell and five of his sonnes, dwellinge in the Towne and Burrowe of Cockermouth, in the County of Cumberland, which hath been heretofore a Towne of greate cloathing, and thereby maynteyned a greate multytude of poore people. But nowe



is exceedingly decayed by reason of a lamentable fyre which did fall from the firmament, and lighted upon a gunpowder house, wherein were diverse barrells and greate store of gunpowder, the which fyre happened upon the 25 day of March, 1632, and in the space of three houres burnt down and consumed 105 dwellinge houses, with the outhouses thereto adjoyneinge, besides the losse of the lives of 37 men, women, and children, with foure other women lyinge in childbed, whoe with their younge infantes newly borne were all burnt to ashes, and 100 other people lamed. The losses did amount to 3000 li. or more.—Witnessed by mee, JOHN BROWNE, Curat of the Hoult ” (*vide* S. P. Dom. Car. I., vol. ii., 32).

This act of cupidity, by whomever devised and executed, led to the issuing of a Royal Proclamation under date 21st March, 1633, setting forth that the Lords of the Privy Council had been informed “that his Majesty’s loving subjects in sundry places of this kingdome have been much wronged and abused by forged and counterfeited Certificates and Warrants, or Licences for Collections, made in the names of Persons of Quality and others, his Majesties Ministers and Servants,” upon which public collections had been made, as well in churches as otherwise, “to the abuse of the Charitie of his Majesties good subjects and discouraging the forwardnesse of such as are well disposed to help such as have had great damage and losses both by Shipwracke and Pirates at Sea, and by Fire and other Casualties at Land;” his highness did therefore by this Proclamation forbid any such collection to be made by any person on any pretence whatsoever without a warrant or licence under the Great Seal (*vide* Coll. Proclamations, Car. I., No. 162).

1638. Briefs, as we have already seen, had become very general, and probably no great calamity such as fire, or flood, happened without recourse to their aid on behalf of the sufferers, and a considerable revenue must have accrued to the Crown, or to some persons holding office under the Crown for fees on Patents. There is evidence of their frequency in several directions. Thus in a petition presented to Charles I. in 1638, regarding a proposed scheme of Fire Insurance for

the City of London and its suburbs, there is reference made to the injury resulting to persons whose houses were burned ; "whereupon," say the petitioners, "*divers briefs are granted*, which by this means [adoption of Fire Insurance] would be prevented"—so far as concerned Fire briefs, the most numerous of all. But I am not sure that this constituted a very effective argument.

#### IX.—BRIEFS DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

1653. We now reach another stage in the history of briefs. The Stuarts have passed away, and the Protectorate (of Oliver Cromwell) is ruling in their stead. Abuses were in process of rectification, and the powers of State were to be executed with exactitude. In the first year of this change of Government the occasion for a brief arose in the occurring of the great fire at *Marlborough* (Wilts) then one of the most important manufacturing [woollen cloth] towns in the kingdom, on 28th April, 1653. The Council of State was sitting at Whitehall ; the circumstances were brought forward and considered. The resulting brief is in a different form from any which had preceded it, and is styled an Order in Council. It is said that Cromwell himself contributed £2,000, but I suspect that £200 is more likely to have been the sum. The language is entirely characteristic of the period ; and as all the proceedings are set down with minuteness we give them entire :—

"Whereas the Council hath been informed, as well by petition of the mayor and inhabitants of Marlborough, in the County of Wilts, as by a certificate under the hands of several justices of the peace of the said county, that upon Thursday, the 28th April, 1653, the Lord, whose judgments are unsearchable and His ways past finding out, in His overruling providence disposing, a fearful and most violent fire broke out almost at the lower end of the said town, which in the space of three or four hours burnt and destroyed all the considerable parts and body thereof, with one of the churches and the market house, to the number of 224 houses, the value whereof and goods consumed is estimated at threescore and ten pounds at the least, to

the utter undoing of the greater part of the said inhabitants, they not having anything for their future livelihood, and withal to supply the urgent necessities of their languishing families. The sense of this weighing deeply and seriously on the hearts of the Council, with tenderest bowels commiserating the much to be lamented condition of the said distressed inhabitants, they have thought themselves bound both in conscience and duty, as suffering and sympathizing with them in their great affliction, to recommend the same to the charity and benevolence of well-disposed persons, and upon this extraordinary occasion to appoint, as they do hereby, a collection to be made in the Cities of London and Westminster, and in all other cities, counties, boroughs, towns, corporations, and other principal places within England and Wales, as well within the liberties as without, and within the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the relief of the said inhabitants and for re-edifying of the said town, which is exceedingly necessary and of great importance for commerce and trade; not doubting but that a business of this nature (so Christian and of such concernment to so many ruined and desolate families) will find ready acceptance with all those who have anything of bowels of compassion in them; and that they will be easily provoked to such a cheerful and liberal contribution as shall be answerable to so great a loss. And it is hereby recommended to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London that order may be given for a collection to be made throughout the said City and liberties thereof in such a manner as may be most effectual for the promoting of this work, and testify an affectionate resentment of the miseries of those who are in a perishing condition. And it is also recommended to the sheriff and justices of the peace of each county of England and Wales, to justices of the peace for the City of Westminster, and to mayors, bailiffs, chief governors, and officers of all cities, boroughs, towns, corporations, and other privileged places, to take care that these presents be dispersed through their respective jurisdictions whatsoever, as well within liberties as without; and to give their best assistance that this collection be made therein in such manner as may most tend to the promoting and advancement of this work. And whereas for the better managing this work in all parts of the nation for the best advantage of the said town and distressed inhabitants thereof, and that the contributions which may be raised shall



be rightly disposed of and impartially distributed amongst those who have been great sufferers in this calamity, the Council have appointed Alderman Andrews, Alderman Tichbourn, Alderman Ireton [and 27 others all named], to be a committee to sit at Sadler's Hall, in the said City of London, to take particular care for the carrying on of this business; wherefore the persons to whom it is recommended by these presents to take care of this collection in their several jurisdictions are from time to time to correspond with the said committee, and to manage that business in such manner as the said committee shall on all occasions advise and signify unto them.

"18th May, 1653. Ordered by the Council of State that these presents be printed and published."

We may learn much concerning the reformed system of working briefs then in force by reference to the operations of the Committee appointed in this case, of which I here give the substance :—

"31st May, 1653. By the committee appointed for managing and ordering the collections for Marlborough, sitting at Sadler's Hall, London, *Ordered*,—That a sufficient number of orders of the Council of State be sent to the high sheriff of every county in England and Wales; and that the high sheriff in every county, upon the receipt of the aforesaid orders, shall forthwith send or cause to be sent a convenient number of them unto the chief constables of each hundred, wapentake, or division within the counties, according to the parishes or chapels in their particular hundred or division. *And the said constables are desired and hereby required to send one of the said orders to the minister or churchwarden of each parish or chapel within their said hundred; and the ministers in their respective parishes are hereby desired and appointed upon the next Lord's Day after they have received the same, to give notice of the sad and distressed condition of the inhabitants of the town of Marlborough, with the greatness of their loss, the better to prepare them for a collection on the Lord's Day following; at which time, the congregation being assembled together, the ministers are hereby further desired and appointed to publish the order from the council, exhorting and stirring up to a liberal contribution towards this charitable work. And the churchwardens of the several parishes in the country, with two other honest active men nominated by the minister and*

themselves, are hereby desired to gather the benevolence of well-disposed persons, or to take the subscriptions of the several inhabitants in the place where they are met together, and in the week following to go from house to house collecting it; or to manage it in such other way and manner as according to their discretion may be judged most effectually conducive to the promoting of so considerable a work. *And in case it so fall out that any parish, being destitute of a minister, shall be without public assemblies, then the constables and churchwardens of the said parish are to go from house to house to gather and receive the charity of the inhabitants.*

There are many other directions regarding the mode of procedure, as that the amount collected should be registered in the books of the respective parishes, "and also set down in words at length on the back of the said order, and subscribed with their names, and returned together with the order." The moneys to be paid to the receiver-general of the several counties. These latter to "make return of the said sums of money, together with the orders, unto Mr. John Strange and Mr. Robert Barret, at the 'Rose and Pomegranate,' in Friday Street, in London, who are appointed treasurers, and authorized for the receiving and paying forth the same, according to the orders and directions of the committee." "It is also further ordered that the money which shall be collected in the City of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, the late lines of communication, and the weekly bills of mortality be brought in by the persons appointed for the collecting it unto the treasurers aforesaid, whose receipt under their hands or either of them shall be a discharge of such collectors."

Of the amount raised by this brief I find no record.

#### X.—SYSTEM GETTING PLAYED OUT IN LONDON.

1661. The next fact in the history of briefs we obtain from that acute observer, Pepys, who in his Diary, under date 30th June, 1661, says:—" (Lord's Day) To church, *where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up to so constant a course every Sunday that we resolve to give no more to them.*" The editor of 3rd Ed., 1848 (Lord Braybrooke), says hereon:—



"It appears from an old MS. account-book of the collections in the Church of St. Olave, Fleet Street, beginning 1642, still extant, that the money gathered on the 30th June, 1661, 'for several inhabitants of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West towards their losse by fire' amounted to 'xxs. viiid.' Pepys might well complain of the trade in briefs, as similar contributions had been levied 14 weeks successively, previous to the one in question, in St. Olave's Church" (vol. i., p. 248).

1663. That remarkable character, Roger L'Estrange, after more than twenty years spent in the Royal cause (near six of them in gaols, and almost four under sentence of death in Newgate), had interest sufficient to obtain this year—1663—an appointment to a new created office, under the title of "Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses," together with the sole licensing of all printed books and papers; and the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing (*inter alia*) all *Briefs for Collections*, Playbills, Quacksalver's Bills, Custom and Excise Bills, Post Office Bills, Creditor's Bills, and Tickets, in England and Wales; with power to search for and seize unlicensed and treasonable, schismatical and scandalous books and papers (*vide* Bagford's *Collections* in Harl. MSS., 5,900, vol. ii., "Fifty Years' Recollections," p. 139).

#### XI.—BRIEFS IN THE COUNTRY.

1666. A brief was issued for the benefit of the sufferers by the Great Fire of London in 1666; but I have never seen a copy. In the parish register of the Parish of Stockport (Cheshire) is an entry of £4 9s. 11d. collected on the brief there.

Regarding the frequency with which briefs were issued after the Restoration, I have taken some pains to become informed. For this purpose it was desirable to look to records in the country rather than to London, the churches of which were within easy reach of special appeals. A case in point is found. The Rev. Thomas Walker, M.A., was vicar of Clent (a village formerly in Staffordshire, now in Worcestershire) from 1663 to 1719. He kept an autograph book wherein he

recorded the collections he made upon briefs in his parish church. A correspondent in *N. and Q.* [5th s. iv., pp. 447 and 481] has made the contents of that book available. Its first entries are in 1672, although that was the fourth year of his incumbency. This seems to point to the fact of briefs becoming at this period so general as to demand some special record. It will be seen that the purposes of the collections were very various, but mostly for fires. I propose to attach these records in the form of an *appendix* (No. 1) to this paper—preserving the trite language of the original. Reference will show that there were five of such collections in that parish in 1762—four in respect of fires; one *for Redemption of enslaved Christians in Turkey*. In 1673, seven, all for fires in various parts of the kingdom; 1674, three for fires; 1675, three—one for fire, two for *rebuilding churches*; 1676, five—four for fires, one for church rebuilding; 1677, one for fire; 1678, four—three for fires, *one towards rebuilding St. Paul's, London*; 1679, two for fires; 1680, three—two for fires, one for enslaved Christians in “Algiers, Sally, &c.”; 1681, two—one for repair of the Parish Church, St. Albans, the other *for relief of persecuted French Protestants*; 1682, seven—six for fires, one for *poor Protestant Churches in Lesser Poland*; 1683, four for fires; 1684, six—four for fires, *one in respect of great landslip carrying away part of the Town of Runswick, North Riding of Yorks*, one for rebuilding Edgbaston Church; 1685, six—four for fires, two for church building; 1686, six—four for fires, *one for flood in Cumberland*, one for rebuilding church spire; 1687, none; 1688, one, *relief of French Protestants*; 1689, one, *relief of Irish Protestants*; 1690, four—three for fires, one *for Protestants in Ireland*; 1691, seven for fires; 1692, seven—five for fires, one *for sufferers of Clopton, &c., near Norwich, by casualties of the sea*, one *for captives taken by Turkish Pirates in Algiers*; 1693, six for fires; 1694, two—one for fire, one for *French Protestants*; 1695, two for fires; 1696, the like; 1697, one for fire; same 1698; 1699, two—one for fire at Lancaster, one for French Protestants; 1700, two—one for fire, one for *redemption of English captives in slavery in Morocco*; 1701, six

—three for fires, one for repairing damage to Ely Cathedral, two for repairs of other churches ; 1702, five—three for fires, one *for repair of Chester Cathedral*, one for repair of Chepstow Church ; 1703, seven—four for fires, two for church rebuilding, one for “Orange Refugees” ; 1704, nine (the greatest number yet recorded in any one year)—eight for fires, one for Seamen’s Widows, “made so by a dreadfull storm and tempest (call’d an Hyrrricane)” ; 1705, seven—four for fires, three for church rebuilding or repairs. Here this interesting chronicle ends ; but others are available, as will be seen.

I may remark in reference to the collection for the redemption of English captives in 1700, that about this date there were Insurance Offices in London and in other European cities, wherein persons could insure for a ransom to be paid in case of their being taken into captivity. For details see *Insurance Cyclopædia*, article “Captivity.”

1682. On the 22nd November, a great conflagration occurred at Wapping, in the East of London, I suppose early in the day, for on the same day the following brief was issued :—

“At the Court at Whitehall, November the 22th, 1682. Present the King’s Most Excellent Majesty in Council. Whereas a Petition was this day presented to his Majesty in Council from several thousands of the poor distressed Sea-Men, Sea-Artificers, Labourers, and other late Inhabitants of Wapping and the Parts adjacent ; setting forth ; That the Poor Petitioners, by the Suddeness and Violence of the late Dreadful Fire which happened lately in Wapping were expell’d and forced out of Their Houses and Dwellings, and scarce had time enough to preserve Themselves and Their Families from perishing in the Flames. By Means whereof most of Them have lost All or the Greatest part of Their Goods, and are exposed to lie in the Streets, Church-Yards, and Fields ; And therefore Praying His Majesty, out of His wonted Clemency and Mercy, to Order that a Collection may be made for Their Relief. His Majesty in Council was thereupon Graciously pleased to Direct his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, and the Deans of Westminster and St. Pauls, to Recommend their Sad and Deplorable Condition to the



several Parishes of London, Westminster, and the Places Adjacent, to make a Charitable Collection for the Poor Petitioners; And that They do give Directions, That the Money so Collected be paid unto Mr. Roger Hudson at the Sign of the Exchange and Grasshopper, in Lombard Street, to be Disposed of among the Petitioners by the Persons hereafter mentioned, as they shall think fit, who are hereby Appointed Trustees to that effect; Namely, the Lord Mayor of London, the said Lord Bishop of London, the Sheriffs of London for the Time being, Sir Henry Johnson, Mr. Raynsford Waterhouse, Mr. Robert Hastings, Mr. William Wood, Mr. John Kent, Mr. Edward Alsoppe, Mr. Isaack Woodgreen, Captain Hugh Till, Captain Bendall, and Mr. Philip Gardner, and any Three or more of Them, whereof the Lord Mayor, or the Lord Bishop of London to be One, who are to take the Advice of the Ministers, Church-Wardens, and Overseers of the respective Parishes of the Poor Petitioners so Destroyed, in making the said Distribution. And it is Recommended to the Lord Mayor of London, to give all due Encouragement and Countenance to this Charitable Work. (Signed) Francis Gwyn. Printed by Samuel Roycroft, Printer to the Honourable City of London, 1682."

1685. At a Court at Whitehall held on 11th February, this year [some historians state 1684], present the King's most excellent Majesty [James II.], a humble petition of his Majesty's subjects within the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, who have been sufferers by fire and otherwise, being this day read at the board, praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased in his princely wisdom to direct some expedient whereby they may receive the benefit of the several letters patent granted to them by his late Majesty King Charles II. of ever-blessed memory, for the collection of *the charitable benevolence of well-disposed people towards the reparation of their losses*, his Majesty, out of his tender commiseration for the petitioner's condition, was pleased to order that all briefs granted by his said late Majesty for loss by fire, or otherwise, and not yet expired, or the collections made thereupon not completed, be read in the several parish churches where the same have not been already published, and the collections proceeded in, according to the



tenour of the several letters patent in that behalf. And of this his Majesty's pleasure all parsons, vicars, curates, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and all others his Majesty's officers and ministers whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

## XII.—NEW USES FOR BRIEFS.

1685. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. this year (1685) was followed by the precipitate flight from *France* of a very large number of Protestants—it is said by some historians of over half a million—who now had to find a home in other lands. They fled into all the Protestant countries of Europe. Many landed upon the south-east coast of England (it is recorded that 50,000 in all came to England), conveyed thither by trading vessels from the French ports. They were in destitute circumstances, and the sea voyage had added to their distressed condition. Their sufferings and distress deeply stirred the sympathies of the English people, by whom every effort was made to succour and help the poor exiles for conscience' sake. Pressure was put upon the king—James II.—himself at heart a Romanist. He issued, under the authority of an Order in Council, a brief on their behalf. It brought in one of the largest collections on record, the precise amount being £63,713 2s. 3d. Other means were also taken, and in all a fund of about £200,000 was raised. In the first year some 15,500 French were aided from this fund, and in the next year it is said no less than 27,000. Many of these refugees were silk-weavers and settled down in Spitalfields (East London) and resumed their occupation, to the great advantage of England, where their descendants still remain industrious and contented. Early in the following century another fund was raised and applied to the founding of the French Protestant Hospital, originally established in St. Luke's, but now removed to South Hackney, which constitutes one of the model charitable institutions of London (see 1709).

1698. This year there was enacted the 9 and 10 Wm. III.,

c. 25, *An Act for granting to H.M., his heirs and successors further duties upon Stampd Vellum, Parchment, and Paper.* There is the following special exemption in regard to briefs. "69. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend to charge any *Letters Patent for collecting charitable Benevolence, commonly called Briefs*, with the Duty therein mentioned, or to make it necessary that such briefs should be doubly stamped ; anything herein contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding." By a later Act, however, briefs were required to be stamped, and it is seen to be quite an item in the charges attending such collections (see 1710).

### XIII.—"FARMING" BRIEFS.

The next phase in the history of our subject requiring to be noticed in detail is the introduction of the system of "Farming Briefs." It will, we suspect, account for a good deal of what has to follow. The precise date at which the practice was commenced we cannot determine. Its adoption was calculated to lead to imposition in two forms—first, in misrepresenting the facts by making out a stronger case than the truth would justify in order to elicit a wider sympathy and therefore a larger collection ; next the giving the real sufferers a minimum proportion of the benefit obtained from the brief. It might well be, when the old form of collecting upon briefs had become played out, as Pepys tells us pretty plainly it had been by 1661, in London at least, that the personal energy of the "farmers" of the enterprise could alone make them productive, and hence a person who gave up his rights for a very small consideration may have been the gainer ; but this system of trading upon charity was repugnant to all right feeling and was certain to end unpleasantly.

1701. The first evidence of the consequences of farming briefs which I meet with is in 1701, and seems to be a very strong case. It came up in the shape of a petition to the House of Commons taking the form of a printed case as follows :—

“The case of Margaret Mortimer, widow, and seventeen more sufferers by a dreadful fire which happened at Derby Court, Westminster, the 16th April, 1697, humbly submitted to the Honourable the House of Commons. No sooner was the fire over but one Mr. Pemberton (in whose empty house the fire began) was sued, by one Mr. Davis, at law for a house and goods the said Davis had burnt down, and the Court awarded that Pemberton should pay Davis £350. The next Sunday following Pemberton came to the sufferers and made his proposal, ‘That if we would sign a release to him that we would not sue him for our losses, he would lay down the money to procure the King’s letters patent to collect the charity of well-disposed persons throughout England for our relief.’ *He told me he had skill in the business, and that he knew some men in the country that had got good estates by gathering charity, and that it would be a constant spring to us.* These insinuations prevailed with us to sign his release, which we all did. A meeting was appointed to consult what was to be done; and according to his direction a petition was drawn up to the Bench of Justices at the Quarter Sessions held at Westminster, which (after we had proved our losses) was granted; and the major part of the Bench of Justices signed our certificate for £3,035 loss, which certificate was thus expressed: ‘We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do certifie, that on the 16th of April, 1697, there was a loss by fire in Derby Court, Westminster, amounting to £3,035 as has been proved before us.’ This general certificate not naming the number of persons together with their respective sums they lost, there were five persons put into the patent for £1,881 10s., and two of the real sufferers left out of the patent; four of the five persons are not yet known; the fifth was Pemberton himself for £400 loss, *though his houses were insured to their full value, if not much above the worth of them,* being insured, as I am informed, in two offices. Pemberton, after we had procured the Justices’ certificate, lets the sufferers know nothing further of the matter, but names trustees, agrees with collectors, and takes their securities, which was a bond of £1,000, for the security of £3,035. When 8,000 briefs had been sent abroad signed by four honest gentlemen, whose names he had presumed to put in, together with five more that knew nothing of any such patent; he, having got four hands, adds a fifth name himself, then giveth notice to the sufferers that the patent was



out, and that if we pleased we might see it, and to excuse himself lays all the fault upon the Lord Chancellor, that his lordship put in the trustees and collectors, and took their securities. Then did I take the names of all the trustees, and I went to them severally to know of them when they met together to choose collectors and take their securities. They told me they never met, for Pemberton brought the papers to them to sign; three of the trustees knew nothing of any such patent, and two refused to sign the papers because they were not summoned to meet together, and four were prevailed with to sign some of the 8,000 papers to send abroad into the country. Then did I leave written summons at each trustee's house to meet at the Christian Coffee House in King Street, Westminster; and I prevailed with Dr. Oldys to give them a meeting, and to lay before them the fraud committed by Pemberton, and the great trust reposed in them.

"This meeting was the 5th of November, 1698. So I heard nothing further, and the date of the patent almost out, and not one penny paid to the sufferers. On the 3rd of May, 1699, I drew up a writing, that if the major part of the sufferers would join with me in an humble petition to my Lord Chancellor, I hoped his lordship would grant us some relief. There were thirteen persons out of eighteen real sufferers that joined in the petition to my Lord Chancellor. *At the first hearing his lordship declared before the whole court that there never was such an abuse put upon the Broad Seal*, and committed Pemberton to the prison of the Fleet till he considered of further punishment for him; but Pemberton found out friends to appease the Lord Chancellor's wrath, and in a short time after his lordship was dismissed the Seals, and the present Lord Keeper put in, to whom upon the 17th of April, 1701, we drew up an humble petition for a re-hearing of our whole cause, and in May following, his lordship made a very full order, thereby referring it *to a Master of Chancery to inspect and report all the particulars relating to the said matter*: and the said Master having made his report, by which it doth appear that Thomas Lewis, William Ranshaw, and Thomas Chamberlain, all living in Stafford Town, who have been common collectors for such purposes for above twenty years, have been guilty of counterfeiting briefs, and other great frauds; it appears there are fewer briefs by 1,500 sent up than by the trustee's accounts they had sent them, including and accounting the counterfeit briefs, and



others printed at Exeter, and the many indorsements on some briefs all in one handwriting, and above a thousand places according to the account of parishes in England, besides London and Middlesex, after all their bringing in, of which they have given no account whither anything collected or not. There were 114 briefs returned from Cumberland and Westmoreland, as many as there are parishes in those counties, returned two years and a half after that by the briefs themselves it appears they were read. The sufferers received not one penny before the patent had been out a quarter of a year, and then on complaint to the Lord Chancellor there was £120 paid to the trustees."

The Master's Report, included in the petition, furnishes the following additional details:—

"It has been admitted before me that there are more briefs yet standing out and not returned; but in what counties or places the briefs returned by them were laid has not been made out to me by the said collectors, nor can possibly be gathered by the briefs brought before me, which lie in small parcels containing briefs returned from different counties with a very great number of indorsements in the place of briefs which should have been returned, and by which indorsements the aforesaid number of briefs are made up. I further certify that it has been objected before me by the said Mrs. Mortimer, that besides the not returning the briefs in time according to the said collectors' bonds, there appears to be two other impressions of briefs amongst the briefs returned besides those delivered out by the trustees, and which were printed by Mr. Jones in the Savoy; some of which were printed at Exeter, and are so mentioned to be at the bottom of them; and others are with an impression imitating those printed by Mr. Jones in the Savoy, with his arms and name thereto, which were not printed by the said Mr. Jones, but by some other person; and that the major part of those last-mentioned briefs are amongst those which have been returned since the before-mentioned matters were referred to me; and that there are many briefs returned with the indorsements written all with one hand; and that some have many indorsements written on one brief, relating to divers parishes, all of one handwriting; and that above seven hundred briefs have been returned without any money collected on them, and many of them having no more than the words

Nothing Collected indorsed on them; and that there are a few small narrow scripts of paper instead of briefs, signifying that nothing is collected in parishes named therein, without the hand of the minister or churchwardens to warrant them. As to which matters so objected, the solicitor for the country collectors took a copy, but making great delay in returning an answer, I inspected the said briefs with regard to the said objections, being about to make a report *ex parte* against the said collectors, and found that there were about 100 briefs imitating the said impression of Mr. Jones, and to two of them Mr. Jones's servants have made affidavits before me that the same were not of the said Mr. Jones's impression; and that about 100 briefs were printed at Exeter; and that the other objections appear to be true."

Finally the petition concludes:—

"This case being only the heads of the matter of fact, and it being an utter ruine to many of us, three persons being little better than starved to death already, and others in a starving condition still, I thought it my duty to lay our grievances before your Honours as the patriots of your countries and the helpers of the distressed; which I attempted to have done the last Session, but it was then too late to bring in a bill for the regulation of this matter."

This document, a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum Library, bears the following indorsement:—

"The case of Mrs. Mortimer and the rest of the sufferers by Derby Court fire; humbly submitted to the consideration of the Honourable House of Commons.' No immediate result followed upon the narration of these abuses."

1704. This year a further statement was issued purporting to be made by Margaret Mortimer, widow, and great pains were taken to bring the matter before the King and Parliament: not so much on behalf of the widow, as in view of the creation of an office and patronage for some one. I give a few passages from this document which throw much light on the practices which had prevailed:—

"Whereas the common way of collecting charity upon letters patent hath been by undertaking collectors, which hath been sufficiently prov'd to be the utter ruin of all charity; 'tis humbly propos'd that a publick office be erected in London, and that the Lord Mayor and

Court of Aldermen be constituted commissioners for all patents, they being gentlemen not only of great integrity and honour, but of great understanding, for improving a stock when rais'd.

"When such an office is set up, all persons having losses by fire may repair to it for instructions, where records shall be kept of all concerns relating to that office. The first instruction given by the office is to send the sufferers to the Bench of Justices to have their losses certify'd; and that all persons' names, together with the respective sums they lost, be also certify'd, and the number of persons in each patent. When the certificate is obtained, it shall be brought back to the office; and the officer set apart for the purpose shall repair to the Clerk of the Briefs belonging to the Lord Keeper, or Lord Chancellor, or Commissioners of the Board Seal, for the letters patents. Then the Queen's printer is to have notice to send as many copies of the patents back to the office, as the proper officer shall bespeak.

"'Tis likewise humbly propos'd, That all collections upon letters patents from henceforth be gather'd by the Bishop's visitations, and that the allowances for collecting shall be out of the copies of the patent brought in; for instance, if twopence be allowed to the deputed trustee for his care in returning the mony to the office, a penny to the apparitor for laying the copies down, twopence to the archdeacon for taking the copies up, and twopence to the register for keeping exact accounts of the number of papers brought in, and what mony is indors'd; which accounts shall be forthwith given into the office where books shall be kept for that purpose. 'Tis is but sevenpence each paper, and these men have had thirteenspence each paper for their salary besides robbing the sufferers of most of the mony collected; not to exceed what they have had, there is sixpence each paper towards an office. By this computation these men have had five hundred pounds for collecting every patent (the country part only) *without any reckoning of the briefs from dissenters' meetings*. When the schedules of all sorts of meetings in each diocess are kept upon record in the office, I hope there can be no room for hiding anything; so that if the letters patents are issued out for a public collection of charity for the raising of a stock, the office may cause twenty thousand copies of the patent to be brought from the Queen's printer, and lodg'd in the office, where the officers of each diocess shall repair for such number as they know there are churches and chapels of the Church of Eng'land."



## XIV.—ACT FOR REGULATING BRIEFS.

1705. After the preceding narration no one will be surprised to find that in the following year (1705) Parliament took up the subject, and there was enacted the 4 Anne, c. 14—*An act for the better collecting charity money on Briefs by Letters Patent, and preventing abuses in relation to such charities.* This measure recites: "Whereas many inconveniences do arise, and frauds are committed in the common method of collecting charity money upon briefs by letters patent, to the great trouble of the objects of such charity, and to the great discouragement of well-disposed persons." For remedy whereof it was enacted that from 25th March, 1706, all copies of briefs for collecting charity money should be printed by the Queen's printers. Ministers of churches and chapels on some Sunday within two months after the receipt of copy of brief were to openly read the same *before the sermon*. The churchwardens are to endorse on the brief the amount collected, and remit the same with brief to the "undertaker" employed in the matter. All the returned briefs were to be deposited with the Registrar of the Court of Chancery. The Act further recited: "*And whereas there hath been an evil practice in farming and purchasing for a sum of money the charity money which should or might be collected on such briefs, to the very great hindrance and discouragement of almsgiving on such occasion.*" Such practices were now forbidden. The "undertakers" referred to in the preceding Act were men appointed for the working of the particular charity to which the brief related; and they were paid a commission on the proceeds. They were rendered liable to penalties if they failed to comply with the provisions of the Act.

I now give a copy of one of the earliest briefs issued under the provisions of this Act. It was occasioned by a fire at Iniskilling, on 2nd June, 1705, and is a far more formidable document than any fire brief previously issued.



1705. KING'S BRIEF.—Issued under the authority of the Act of 1705. [At the top the Royal Arms.] Then, “Loss by Fire at Iniskilling in Ireland, £8,166,” and as follows:—

“Anne, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and their Generals [? word defaced], Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other spiritual persons: And also to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, Church-Wardens, Chappel-Wardens, Headboroughs, Collectors for the Poor, and their overseers: And also to all officers of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate: And to all others our officers, ministers, and subjects whatever they be, as well within Liberties as without, to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

“Whereas it hath been represented unto Us, as well upon the humble Petition of the poor distressed Inhabitants of the Corp<sup>n</sup> of Iniskilling in our kingdom of Ireland; as by the Representation of James Duke of Ormond, Our Lieutenant-General and General Governour of Ireland: That the s<sup>d</sup> poor Petitioners have, for these sixteen years last past, laboured under great Wants and Difficulties, occasioned by the many hardships they suffered by the late Wars of Ireland, and for their firm adherence to the Protestant interest, and especially to the Crown and Church of England as by Law establisht; and that when the s<sup>d</sup> Petitioners had in a great measure, by their labour and industry retrieved their losses, so that they were again in a plentiful way of living; It pleased God on the second day of June last past, by a most dreadful, sudden, and accidental Fire, to suffer almost their whole town to be laid in ashes; to the utter ruin of above One Hundred families, and loss of Eight thousand one hundred, sixty and six pounds in mony and goods; as by a schedule given in by the several sufferers, upon their respective oaths before our Justices of the Peace for the County of *Farmanagh*, in the s<sup>d</sup> Kingdom of Ireland appears.

“And therefore have humbly besought Us to grant unto them Our Gracious Letters Patents, License, and Protection, under Our Great Seal of England, to Empower them to ask, collect and receive, the seasonable alms and relief of all our loving subjects, throughout our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for their support under this their great calamity.

“Unto which their humble request We have graciously

condescended, as well with regard to the sad and deplorable condition to which so many poor Families are reduced by this sudden calamity; as from a remembrance of the Surprising and almost Unexampled Services which those of that Town lately performed in Support and Defence of the Protestant Religion and English Interest in Ireland, when small numbers of them in three several Actions defeated considerable bodies of regular Troops, whereby they proved highly instrumental in reducing that kingdom to its due subjection to the Crown of England.

“KNOW YE THEREFORE, That of our especial Grace and Princely compassion, We have given and granted, and by these our Letters Patents under our Great Seal of England, We do give and grant unto the <sup>s<sup>d</sup></sup> distressed Inhabitants of Iniskilling, and to their Deput'ies or Agents, who shall be lawfully authorized on their behalf, full Power, License, and Authority to ask, gather, receive and take, according to the Rules in these Presents specified, the Alms and Charitable benevo'ence of all our Loving Subjects, not only Householders but a'so Servants, Strangers, and others, within all and every the Countries, Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate, Privileged-places, Parishes, Chappelries, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and all other places whatsoever, throughout our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the Relief and Support of the said poor Sufferers and their Families.

“AND We do in a particular manner recommend it to all and singular the Archbishops and Bishops of all the Provinces and Dioceses within our Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, That they and every of them do give a particular direction and command to all the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of all and every the parishes and other places, as well within Liberties as without, within their respective Dioceses for the advancement of this so pious and charitable a work.

“AND THEREFORE We will and require you and every of you, that at such time and times as the <sup>s<sup>d</sup></sup> Deputies, Agents, or Bearers hereof, shall come and repair to any your Churches and Chappels and other places appointed for Religious worship, to ask and receive the Alms and Benevolence of our Loving Subjects, that ye quietly permit and suffer them to do so.

“AND ye the <sup>s<sup>d</sup></sup> Parsons, Vicars, and Curates are upon the first Lord's Day then after (or second at furthest), without some good

reason to the contrary, deliberately and affectionately to publish and declare the tenour of the same unto our said Loving Subjects, and earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir them up to contribute freely and cheerfully towards the relief of the s<sup>d</sup> poor distressed sufferers.

“AND the s<sup>d</sup> Churchwardens together with the Minister or some of the substantial Inhabitants of the Parish accompanying them, are also hereby required to go from House to House upon the week-days next following, to ask and receive from the parishioners, as well Masters, Mistresses, and Servants, as others in their families, their Christian and Charitable contributions, and to take the names in writing of all such as shall contribute hereunto: And the sum and sums by them respectively given, and indorse the whole sum upon the s<sup>d</sup> printed briefs, in words at length, and subscribe the same with their proper hands, together with the name of the place where, and time when, collected; and to enter the same into the public Books of Account kept for each parish and Chappelry respectively. And the sum and sums collected, together with the s<sup>d</sup> printed briefs so indorsed, you are to deliver unto the s<sup>d</sup> Deputies and Agents, who are thereupon forthwith to pay all the s<sup>d</sup> mony and return the s<sup>d</sup> briefs unto the Chamber of the City of London.

“AND We hereby further require and command all Ministers and Teachers of separate Congregations and Assemblies, that they read this Brief in their respective Congregations, and Earnestly exhort their Hearers to extend their bowels of compassion to the said sufferers upon this extraordinary occasion; and that they do cause the Charity of their respective Congregations to be duly collected: And the sums collected to be indorsed on the Briefs, and signed by the s<sup>d</sup> Ministers and Teachers, with the time and place when and where the s<sup>d</sup> Collections were made. And that they do cause the sums so collected, together with the Printed Briefs to be returned to the Churchwardens of the respective parishes to which they belong: which said Churchwardens are hereby required to pay the s<sup>d</sup> sums, and deliver the s<sup>d</sup> Printed Briefs with the other collections of the Parish to the s<sup>d</sup> Deputies and Agents, as is herein before directed, to be returned with the other Collections into the Chamber of our City of London.

“AND We do hereby authorize and appoint The Most Reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Archbishop of York, the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Charles Earl of



Mountrath, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount Lanesborough, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount Mountjoy, Charles Lord Coote, the Rt. Rev. the Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and the Lord Bishop of Clogher, Thomas Lord Coning-by, the Hon. Wm. Moor, Esq., Sir Arthur Gole, and Sir Octavius Hume, Baronets, Sir Michael Cole, Knight, Major-General Gustavus Hamilton, Richard Rooth, Richard Rider, Edward Le Neve, John Buchnal, and John Cole, Esquires, the Rev. Doctor John Dane, Thomas Johnston, Gent., William Browne and Alexander Cairnes, merchants, and the Provost of the Inn of Iniskilling for the Time being, to be Commissioners and Trustees for the Execution of these our Letters Patents, and for the ordering, managing and disposing of the Charity ; with power to them, or any Five or more of them, to make and sign all necessary Orders for the due and regular Collection of this Brief, and for the issuing and paying the monys out of the Chamber, London. And we do hereby authorize and appoint the s<sup>d</sup> Lord Bishop of Clogher, Sir Gustavus Hume, Sir Michael Cole, and the Provost of the Town of Iniskilling for the Time being, or any two of them to oversee the rebuilding of the Town ; and to take care that the mony collected as aforesaid be applied to the best advantage for the use of the said Town, and Relief of the respective sufferers. In witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue in force for one whole year, from Christmas next and no longer. Witness Our Self at Westminster the nineteenth day of December in the fourth year of Our Reign. God Save the Queen."

The document bears at its foot the names of "Fall and Pearson," with the imprint : "London : printed by Benjamin Molte, for the Patentees, being first Examined by the Grant under the Great Seal of England, 1705." I think it may be assumed that the "Patentees" referred to were Fall and Pearson.

1705. It will appear to many a strange anomaly that at the termination of a generation after the development of the practice of *Fire Insurance* in England, such a system of meeting the common casualty of fire should still be in force, and should receive the formal sanction of Parliament. It is one of the functions of history to clear up such anomalies. In this



instance, the task is not difficult. Although Fire Insurance had been probably practised by means of individual underwriters, or otherwise, from 1667—the year after the great fire of London—and by an organized company since 1680 or 1681, (in which latter year the Chamber of the City of London perfected a scheme of Fire Insurance, constituting a very remarkable chapter in the history of the Corporation), the practice had not at the date at which we have now arrived (1705) extended beyond the Bills of Mortality; nor did it exceed these narrow limits for another five years—or before 1710. Hence to the great mass of the population Fire Insurance was still an impossibility.

Early in this century a proposal was set on foot for raising a permanent fund out of which fire losses should be paid *without waiting the return of the briefs*, the fund for this purpose to be provided from collections made during the visitations of the Bishops. This we believe was not carried out.

It was probably somewhere about this time also (1705), that Dean Swift wrote his famous skit upon Bishop Burnett's History of his own Time, entitled, "Memoirs of P. P., Clerk to this Parish," wherein occurs the following:—"The next [chapter] contains an account of the briefs read in this church, and the sums collected upon each. For the repairation of 9 churches, collected at nine several times, 2s. and 7½d. For fifty families ruined by fire, 1s. ½d. For an inundation, a King Charles's groat, given by Lady Frances," &c.

#### XV.—FURTHER USES FOR BRIEFS.

1709. This year English charity was again invited in favour of Protestant refugees from France. The malevolence of French persecution having pursued the Protestants of the Palatine, they were stripped of their worldly goods and expatriated. Some 12,000 of these distressed people found their way to England. They arrived in the month of June in the neighbourhood of London, and were at first maintained by the benevolence of the Queen (Anne), afterwards by that of the

nobility, &c.; and finally there was collected for them on a *Brief* no less than £22,028. With this relief, 3,000 were sent to Ireland; 600 to North and South Carolina; 3,500 to New York, where they speedily settled down into the arts of industry (*vide* Hughson's "London").

1710-11. In the case of the brief for St. Mary's Church, *Colchester* (which had lain in ruins since the siege of 1648), issued 1710, the sum collected was £2,142 11s. 4d., of which, however, £546 19s. 10d. was absorbed in expenses as follows, stated under their separate heads:—

	£	s.	d.
<i>Charges of obtaining it from the Lord Chancellor.</i>			
Petition to Lord Chancellor ... ..	...	0	6 8
Fiat to his secretary ... ..	...	38	10 0
To his clerk ... ..	...	0	5 0
	£39	1	8
<i>Mr. Roberts, the Patentee, his fees</i> ... ..	...	28	3 2
To his clerk ... ..	...	0	5 0
Paper and printing the briefs ... ..	...	21	10 0
Examining the proof ... ..	...	0	5 0
<i>Signing the Brief</i> ... ..	...	10	15 0
Bishop's letter, paper and printing ... ..	...	8	11 0
Deputations for twenty-four collectors ... ..	...	1	16 0
Boxes, porters, and carriage to Stafford and back to			
London ... ..	...	2	5 0
Register and printer's porter ... ..	...	0	10 0
<i>Solicitor's charges</i> ... ..	...	15	7 6
Drawing and engrossing the bond ... ..	...	0	5 0
Stamping the brief ... ..	...	14	5 0
Registrar's servant ... ..	...	0	5 0
Letters in the whole ... ..	...	1	0 0
Mr. Timothy Cooke's charge for a book of account ... ..	...	4	6 0
	£148	10	4

*Charges for collecting—*

To the collectors for collecting 10,671 briefs at 8d.

    a piece, and 245 in London at 1s. 6d. each ... 374 1 6

	£	s.	d.
Carrying the Bishop of London's circular letter ...	10	0	0
Charges of Tim. Cooke, one of the trustees and chief managers ... ..	14	8	0

Total (according to Mr. Cooke's computation) £546 19 10  
*(Vide Morant's "History of Colchester," p. 108 n.)* See 1809.

1712. This year (30th January) there occurred a fire in the printing office of the famous Wm. Bowyer, in the precinct of White Fryars, from which we are enabled to learn with exactness the process attending the working of briefs at this period. The first step was a petition by the sufferers to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City setting forth the facts, but as these are repeated in the petition which they forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, I pass over that portion of the first petition. The prayer was for the Mayor, &c., to certify to the Lord Chancellor of the facts, "to the end that your petitioner may obtain her Majesty's most gracious Letters Patent by way of brief for a collection of the charity of her Majesty's loving subjects" for the relief of the petitioner. The Mayor and Aldermen accordingly—the fire it will be noted occurred within the city—petitioned the Lord Chancellor in form following:—

*"To the Right Hon. Simon Lord Harcourt, Baron of Stanton Harcourt, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.*

*"May it please your Lordship,*

*"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being the Mayor, Aldermen, and Justices of the Peace, of the City of London, and other inhabitants of the said City, do humbly certify your Lordship, that it hath been made appear to us, upon the humble petition of William Bowyer, of the precinct of White Fryars, within the City of London, printer, That on the 30th of January, in the year of our Lord 1712, there happened a dreadful and sudden fire in the night-time, by accident unknown, which, by reason of the suddenness and violence thereof, forced the said William Bowyer, with his wife and children, to fly for their lives out of their beds, with only such a small part of their common wearing apparel as could on the sudden be taken with them, though not sufficient to cover them; leaving*

a gentleman of their family behind, who perished in the flames, and was burnt to ashes : and in a very short time the said fire not only burnt down to the ground the dwelling-house of the said William Bowyer, and demolished and damaged others next the same, amounting to the value of 802*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* as appears by the oaths of George Quick and Edward Bayley, creditable and substantial workmen, but also totally consumed all the household goods, apparel, books of accompts, wares, stock-in-trade, printing-presses, types, and other the utensils of his profession, together with several hundred reams of paper bought and prepared for printing, and a great number of divers and sundry books and parts of books, printing and printed, to the value of 4,344*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* or thereabouts, as appears upon the oath of the said sufferer ; so that the whole loss, upon a moderate computation, amounts to the sum of 5,146*l.* 18*s.* That the said poor sufferer, before this sad calamity, had acquired considerable substance, and lived in a creditable manner, but is now reduced to extreme want and poverty, and not able to support himself and family without the relief of her Majesty's loving subjects. We therefore recommend the premisses to your Lordship's charitable consideration, to the end your Lordship will be pleased to grant unto the said poor sufferer her Majesty's most gracious letters patent, licence, and protection, under the great seal of Great Britain, for a collection of charity, for the relief of the said poor sufferer and his family, as to your Lordship shall seem meet. Given under our hands, this 6th day of March, 1713."

A brief was accordingly granted, the clear produce of which was £1,514 13*s.* 4½*d.*—the expenses unfortunately not being stated (*vide* "Literary Anecdotes," i. 58).

1720. *Inundation.* In 1720 there was great damage sustained in the County Palatine of Lancaster by an irruption of the Sea, under circumstances fully set out in the following brief, which was issued for the benefit of the sufferers :—

"George, by the Grace of God, &c. : Whereas it hath been represented unto us, as well upon the humble petition of Edmund Ball, Oliver Rymer, Lawrence Abraham, &c., on the behalf of themselves and about four hundred other inhabitants, Farmers, and Rack-Tenants, within the parishes and townships of North-Meols, Heskethcum-Becconsals, Tarleton, Martin-Mear, Pilling, Lytham, Warton,



and Westby-cum-Plumton, Cokerham, and Ince Blundell, in our County Palatine of Lancaster ; as also by several certificates under the hands and seals of our Trusty and Well-beloved Robert Mawdesly, Samuel Crook, John Owen, &c., Esquires, our Justices of the Peace for the said County Palatine of Lancaster, made at their several General Quarter Sessions of the Peace held at Lancaster, Wigan, Preston, and Ormskirk, on the 10th, 12th, and 16th days of January, and also on the 24th day of April, in the seventh year of our Reign, that upon Sunday and Monday, the 18th and 19th days of December, then last past, there happened a prodigious storm of wind, which(falling out at the change of the moon, and the very height of spring tide) occasioned such an extraordinary overflow and inundation of the sea that it broke down and washed away the Sea-bank, Ramparts, and other Fences, and made a great Irruption along the sea-coast, and overflowed above 6,600 acres of land, utterly destroying and washing away all the Wheat, Rye, Clover, Grass, Salt-works, Corn, Hay, Barns, Outhouses, of the petitioners thereon, together with great number of Horses, Cows, Oxen and other Cattle, which were drowned thereby : That the said Flood washed away above 157 dwelling-houses, and so much damaged above 200 more that they will not be habitable without great charge and expense ; and that most of the Petitioners lost all their household goods, wearing apparel, and everything necessary for their subsistence, many persons being drowned, and the rest, by divine providence, narrowly escaping with their lives, some with great difficulty preserving themselves by swimming on the pieces of timber torn off by the s<sup>d</sup> storm from their houses ; and others remaining a long time in the water till taken out by the assistance of their neighbours, and are, by this s<sup>d</sup> calamity, without habitations for themselves, having nothing to depend upon but their charitable neighbours for their lodging and subsistence.

“ That the truth of these premises hath been made appear to our said Justices in their several open Sessions of the Peace, not only upon the oaths of the s<sup>d</sup> poor sufferers and several neighbouring gentlemen, but also upon the oaths of divers able and experienced workmen, who were severally examined in open Court, and made a careful estimate of the Petitioners' losses in the premises aforesaid ; and the same, upon a just and reasonable computation, amounts to the sum of £10,227 and upwards. By which sad calamity the said poor Petitioners and their families are reduced to the extremest

degree of poverty, and must inevitably perish unless relieved by the assistance of our loving subjects."

#### XVI.—MORE ABUSES AND DISCONTENT.

1787. This year there was commenced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* one of those elaborate discussions for which its pages became so famous, and which makes it still a valuable medium of reference to the historian. I propose to review the discussion and select illustrative passages. The opener says :—

"The reading of briefs (or indeed any parish business) in the Church savours something of profaneness. The collections made there *are in general very small*. And the distress of the indigent would be at least as amply relieved if the Government would permit the briefs to be advertised gratis in the Gazette. This I am sure of, that many would *read* them, who very seldom now attend to *hear them read*" (vol. lvii., p. 309).

The next correspondent says :—

"I could tell you an instance where the officiating minister, not the rector or vicar, refuses to read briefs, as unfit to be read in Churches, and leaves them to the Clerk, who, to his credit, reads them very well. Strange inconsistency in a high churchman! as if anything *relative to the Church* was improper to be read in it. But so unguardedly do bigots reason" (lviii., p. 512).

A third correspondent grows more emphatic, and says :—

"The abuse which I have at present to lay before you is that of Church Briefs, which are most of them obtained by the greatest perjury, and consequently contain the grossest falsehoods, which became more shocking when read in the face of a congregation, and in the presence, the more immediate presence of Almighty God."

"That this is not empty declamation the following accounts will evince :—A man in an inland county, some years ago, found a person or persons hardy enough to swear that he had sustained a loss of £392 and upwards by fire, though his loss did not exceed £20, and he had collected more than £10 amongst his neighbours.

He was told by one of the Brief-gatherers *that the general practice in estimating losses was, if any part of a house be burnt, to include the whole house, and all the furniture in the valuation.* Another instance may be quoted from the same county, where the damage was estimated at more than £2,000, but the clergy in general know better than to be *driven* from house to house whenever a paltry fellow of a brief collector chooses to send them.

"The estimates for churches are equally shameful. The clergy are made to declare that a church which may be rebuilt for £200 or £300 requires £1,000. Upon which account it would be a laudable practice entirely to discourage every donation to a brief, till these evils are removed.

"The remedy is simple and easy. Let three or four magistrates be requested to visit the places where the fires or inundations happen, and where the churches are to be rebuilt; let them advert to every circumstance, and make ample allowance for the temporary inconvenience, which an inhabitant of any house, or the occupier of any premises, may have sustained, and let them resolve to admit no allegations of workmen to pass without such a view. This I conceive may be done without any Act of Parliament, but if an Act be necessary, why should it not pass? I also think that the proctors of the respective districts might be allowed a certain poundage, and being obliged to attend the visitations [of the Bishops] on other accounts, would collect the money more cheaply than the present people, who, going for that single purpose, must expect to be better rewarded" (lviii., p. 576).

A London Curate takes up the question in the following clear-headed manner:—

"I . . . endeavour to read the briefs which pass under my notice as I ought, and to press the contribution as earnestly as I can. But indeed, sir, the mode of collecting by a brief, is so very objectionable that I am almost ashamed of saying all that might be said, when, in conjunction with the Churchwardens, I am making the collection. Briefs are surely *farmed*, or why do I find the names of *three* gentlemen in all briefs, who it seems advance money upon their probable produce, certainly not without a *decent* premium? In short, sir, the fact is, that only one-third of the whole sum collected passes into the hands of the trustees, the remainder is consumed in official fees

paid for the application of the Great Seal, or cleaves to the fingers of the brief-broker. I wish to have the matter reformed, and have a project or two for that purpose which I will mention.

"1. Let the Commissioner for managing Queen Anne's Bounty be appointed Commissioner for granting of Briefs, *without fees*, and be the receiver-general of the first-fruits, receive directly into his hands, and remit to the Trustees named in the Briefs, the respective contributions, deducting 10s. per cent. as a compensation for his trouble, or any other moderate sum.

"2. Let churches be put on a footing with county bridges, and repaired by a county rate. The parish wherein any church so repaired shall stand, to raise a reasonable sum by the way of *annuity* in easement of the county rate, the proportion to be settled by the grand jury of the county.

"3. Let benefactions for repairing or rebuilding churches be solicited in the provincial newspapers, as they are for hospitals and other objects of the public charity" (lviii., p. 609).

Yet another Clergyman writes (*inter alia*): "Several of the Churchwardens at these midland visitations inform the officers whose care it is to issue them out, they need not give them any, for they only bestow the carriage to their respective parishes, and let them be dormant till the next visitation, without any ways and means being taken to answer the good intent and purpose."

It was pointed out in this controversy that while the Crown derived "such great emoluments at the passing of every brief" opposition was almost useless. But the expression of opinion now elicited had unquestionably considerable weight in the downfall of the system.

Another correspondent, holding an official position said: "I am employed in distributing the briefs to the different villages, &c., in the peculiar jurisdiction of Banbury, and from 60 to 70 briefs for rebuilding of churches returned to me the last visitation, signed by the respective members and churchwardens, there had been collected in the whole but 20½d., the fact was but one brief of the whole had collected anything" (lviii., p. 905).



1788. The following brief for repair of a Church was issued in 1788, and is a good specimen of its class in point of brevity:

"Mar. 1, 1788. Whereas it hath been represented unto us, that the abbey or parochial church of St. Paul in Malmsbury, is a very beautiful, large, and ancient fabrick, being built about 1,100 years since, and covers 60 perches of ground, and is adorned in various parts of it with curious work of different orders; that the church, at the dissolution of monasteries, in order to preserve so venerable a structure, was purchased by the aldermen of the said borough, and notwithstanding the parishioners have, from time to time, expended several large sums of money in support of the said fabrick, yet the same is now become very ruinous through length of time, particularly the south walls are greatly decayed and bulged, and several of the arches, together with the roof, are become very rotten, and in great danger of falling into the church; the north walls are also shattered with many cracks and flaws, and not without danger even in the foundation, and several pinnacles are already fallen in; that the parishioners have, by a former collection by virtue of his Majesty's letters patent, collected the sum of 470*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.*, which sum is vested in the three *per cent.* Consolidated Annuities, until they have authority to collect a further sum for the repair of the said church; which, by the oath of James Darley, an able and experienced architect, who has viewed the church, and estimated the charge of taking down a part and repairing the same, will amount to 2,441*l.* 4*s.*, exclusive of the foresaid sum and the old materials.—A brief to collect from house to house. Trustees: Sir James Tilney Long, Bart., Thomas Estcourt Creswell, Charles Wesly Coxe, Thomas Estcourt, Esq., Rev. Thomas Pollock, LL.D., Edm. Wilkins, Esq., high-steward, the aldermen and capital burgesses, the minister and churchwardens for the time being, William Stevenson and William Hilditch, gents. Feb. 26, 28 Geo. III."

This brief produced the sum of £470 15*s.* 11*d.*; but that being insufficient for the purpose, a further brief was issued later in the year.

1791. Horace Walpole, writing to Miss Berry, under date 26th May, 1791, regarding an application which had been made to him to subscribe to a monument for Dr. Johnson (who had offended Walpole), says: "I would not deign to write an

answer, but sent down word by my footman, *as I would have done to parish officers with a brief, that I would not subscribe.*"

1796. A correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1796, stated that the circulation of briefs in Wales was "confined by authority to the three counties of *Flint, Denbigh, and Radnor*" (lxvi., p.38). This statement must be received subject to further inquiry. Collections for fires occurring in other parts of Wales (which certainly is a different thing) were made (*vide* Appendix No. 1, 1683, collection for a fire in Carmarthen).

#### XVII.—REGULATIONS FOR BRIEFS.

1804. The following circular and regulations concerning briefs were issued this year, by John Nares, "Secretary of Briefs to the Lord Chancellor," under date, 1st March :—

*"Circular.—To the Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish of*  
 ———— Gentlemen,—Many complaints having been made by persons who have been under the necessity of applying for briefs, I have endeavoured to ascertain the cause of the delay, and also the reason the collections are so small ; and find that it is owing to the neglect of some of the churchwardens in returning the briefs, and the omission of some Clergymen either to read them or frequently to read them all at once. I have examined the Undertaker's accounts, and can safely assure you they are kept in the most regular manner. I have therefore the Lord Chancellor's directions to express his wish that the following Requisitions may be strictly complied with.

---

*"Regulations.—Churchwardens or Chapelwardens, Teachers and Preachers of every separate Congregation, or persons who have taught or preached among Quakers, shall, immediately after receiving briefs from the Undertaker, endorse the time of receiving, and set their names. Then the Churchwardens or Chapelwardens shall forthwith deliver them to the Minister. And the Ministers, on receipt, shall endorse the time and set their names. Then the Ministers (and Teachers respectively) in two months after receipt shall, on some Sunday immediately before Sermon, openly read, or cause them to be read to the Congregation. Then the Churchwardens and Chapelwardens (and Teachers and others to whom they were delivered) shall*

collect the money that shall be freely given, either in the assembly, or by going from house to house as the briefs require.

"Next, the sum collected, the place where, and time when, shall be endorsed, fairly written in words at length, according to the form to be printed on the back of each brief, and signed by the Minister and Churchwardens, or by the Teacher and two Elders, or two other substantial persons of such separate Congregation.

"Afterwards, on request of the Undertaker (or other person by him lawfully authorized), the Churchwardens and Teachers shall deliver to him the briefs so endorsed, and the money thereon collected.

"Every Minister, Curate, Teacher, Preacher, Churchwarden, Chapelwarden, and Quaker refusing or neglecting to do anything above required, shall forfeit £20, to be recovered by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information.

"And in every Parish or Chapelry and separate Congregation a Register shall be kept by the Minister or Teacher of all monies collected by virtue of such briefs therein; also inserting the occasion of the brief, and the time when collected; to which all persons, at all times, may resort without fee.—*1st March, 1804.*"

1809. In the case of a brief for the Parish Church of Ravenstonedale, in Westmoreland, issued apparently about this date, the statement of charges were as follows, being an obvious modification upon those of a century previous:—

				£	s.	d.
Taking the Certificate	...	...	..	...	0	7 6
Seal and Signing	...	...	...	...	19	14 2
Letters Patent	...	...	...	...	21	18 2
Printing and Paper	...	...	...	..	16	0 0
Teller and Porter	...	...	...	...	0	5 0
Stamping	...	...	...	...	13	12 6
Copy of Brief	...	...	...	...	0	5 0
Porterage to and from Stamper's	...	...	...	...	0	5 0
Matt for Packing	...	...	...	...	0	4 0
Porterage to Waggons	...	...	...	...	0	4 0
Carriage to Undertaker	...	...	...	...	1	11 6
Postage of Letters and Certificate	...	...	...	...	0	4 8
Clerk's Fees	...	...	...	...	2	2 0
Total of Patent Charges				£76	3	6



			£	s.	d.
Salary for 9,986 Briefs, at 6d.	...	...	...	249	13 0
Additional Salary for London	...	...	...	5	0 0
					<hr/>
Total Charges	...	...	£330	16	6
					<hr/>
Collected on 9,986 Briefs...	...	£614	12	9	
Deduct charges...	...	...	330	16	6
					<hr/>
Clear Collection	...		£283	16	3
Collections	...	...	...	9,986	
Blanks	...	...	...	503	
					<hr/>

Total number of Briefs 10,489

*Vide Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxix., p. 1,123.

1804. In conformity with recommendation of the Secretary of the Lord Chancellor (in 1804) that a "Register of Briefs" should be kept in every parish, a Mr. Solomon drew up a most comprehensive plan, embodying the following details :—

1. No. of briefs sent.
2. Occasion of each brief.
3. Charge of each (*i.e.*, loss involved in case which gave rise to it).
4. Date.
5. Time when received by Churchwardens.
6. Time when received by minister.
7. Sunday in which brief was publicly read in church.
8. Amount of money collected on each brief.
9. Time or times when collected.
10. Time and place of payment thereof, and of returning the brief by the churchwardens into the hands of ——. Observations, &c.

Had such a book been kept at an earlier period its details would have been of great historic value.

1814. It had become a very common practice to issue a succession of briefs for the same object, thus in the case of Adderly Church (Salop) no less than five, if not six, were issued. In other cases the same. A correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1814 (page 633), stated that he had found the average amount produced by each issue in such



cases had been (for the whole kingdom) a trifle above £190. In some cases (as witness the Dagenham Church, Essex, brief) the subsequent issues had brought the parties concerned in debt to the undertakers.

At the Michaelmas Sessions in Staffordshire, 1816, the chairman (George Chetwynd, Esq.) gave the result of an inquiry he had instituted concerning briefs as follows :—

“The Letters Patent which are issued by the Lord Chancellor, upon a Certificate from the Quarter Sessions, had, he said, ever since 1799, been delivered to John Stevenson Salt, Esq. (of the firm of Messrs. Stevenson and Salt, Lombard-street), who is now *exclusively employed* as undertaker for the purpose of Disposing Copies of the Briefs, and of receiving the Collections, but that it is fully competent for any person who obtains a brief, to appoint his own undertaker, Mr. Salt having no office or permanent appointment.

“Upon receipt of the Letters Patent, Mr. Salt, as undertaker, provides printed Copies (10,800 of Church Briefs, or 11,500 of Fire Briefs), which Copies are delivered by his Agents, at the Archdeacon's Visitations, to the Churchwardens of the several parishes, &c., and at the ensuing Visitations they are returned to the persons by whom issued, with the sums collected thereon.

“A General Statement of each account is afterwards made up, with as little delay as possible, and information of the sums collected is given to the Trustees appointed in each Brief, and the whole may be drawn for immediately.

“The Charges upon a Church Brief are generally as follows :—

						£	s.	d.
Fiat ...	...	...	...	...	...	10	5	6
Patent	...	...	...	...	...	22	11	6
Paper and Printing	...	...	...	...	...	22	10	0
Stamping	...	...	...	...	...	13	10	0
Canvas, postage, carriage, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	15	3	0

---

£84 0 0

“Undertaker's salary 5*d.* for each Church Brief returned, but charged only 4*d.*; within the Bills of Mortality double.

“The Charges upon Fire Briefs amount to 86*l.*, and the undertakers' salary 8*d.* each.

"The undertaker is responsible for every Agent and Collector throughout the kingdom; and the sum received as salary is by no means adequate to the trouble, risk, and responsibility attending the business.

"To the foregoing explicit statement the Chairman added that the productiveness of briefs is less than might be expected, partly by reason of the imperfect provisions of the Act of 4th Queen Anne, c. 14, and the frequent negligence of Churchwardens, but chiefly by the prevailing idea that briefs are farmed. In no instance, he was fully convinced, had a brief ever been farmed, either by Mr. Salt, or to Mr. Salt's knowledge."

This is one of the most clear and satisfactory statements concerning the practice of briefs ever issued, but it seems that in view of the public excitement which had been aroused in the question the practice had been modified and reformed. The point concerning the "farming of briefs" shows a considerable variation in practice. The charges given, as will be seen, were only those incident to the Patent—the first stage.

#### XVIII.—BRIEFS DYING OUT.

1819. I have still something more to say on the general question of briefs. Their uses had unquestionably departed except in the single instance of collections for building or repairing churches. But even here the newspaper press had usurped their functions. Appeals could be made in the shape of advertisement at much less cost than that involved in putting the machinery of a collection by brief in motion. The expenses of this were very considerable, amounting to about £80 for "Expenses of Patent" and £150 for collectors' salary, and hence frequently the greater part of the collection was swallowed up, and in some instances even an adverse balance produced. From a Parliamentary return issued in 1819 it appeared that £424 was collected for a casualty at Windiford Brook, but the sufferers only benefited to the extent of £106. Upon a brief for Carlisle (dated 1818) £197 was collected, but the net proceeds amounted to £12 only. In another case £24 was all that was left out of £210.

While on a brief for repairing Wrockwardine Church (1818) the net produce was but *five shillings!* (*Antiquary*, iv., p. 34).

About twelve briefs per annum were issued during the first quarter of the present century.

The number of briefs printed and issued varied with the nature of the case which called it forth. A settled practice had been deduced from experience. Hence for *Fire Briefs* 11,500 were printed, while for *Church Briefs* but 10,800. The difference was probably the number of Dissenting places of worship: *Fire Briefs* would be sent to these, but *Church Briefs* of course not.

I have not heretofore made reference specially to "*Walking Briefs*"—these were such as were carried from door to door. The famous Alderman Wood, during the debate on the introduction of a Bill for the abolition of briefs (1828), gave a lively account of the manner in which people were teased out of their money by churchwardens, attended by gorgeous beadles and other parochial officers (*vide* Hansard).

#### XIX.—DISCONTINUED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

1828. The practice of issuing briefs for Churches, &c., lingered on until finally the action of Parliament was invoked in 1828, and there was enacted 9 Geo. IV., c. 42,—*An Act to abolish Church Briefs, and to provide for the better collection and application of voluntary contributions for the purpose of enlarging and building Churches and Chapels*. This preamble recites the Act of 1705, and says: "It is expedient to repeal the said Act, and to provide for the better collection and application of voluntary contributions for enlarging, building, rebuilding and repairing Churches and Chapels in England and Wales." It recites the foundation of the Church Building Society in 1818, and of the good it had accomplished; and then gives it a legal incorporation. It next repeals the Act of Anne, "except as to such briefs issued before the passing of this Act as are now in progress, with respect to which the Act should remain in force." Power was reserved (sec. x.) to H.M. to issue Royal Letters to the Archbishops



of Canterbury and York, for aiding the building, &c., of Churches, the funds to be applied by the said Society. Then follow these sections :—

“XIII.—And whereas there is a certain sum of money remaining in the hands of John Stevenson Salt, Esq., *the Undertaker of Briefs*, arising from balances of monies collected upon briefs which have not been wanted or required for the purposes for which the same were collected. Be it therefore enacted, That such sum shall be transferred to the said Society, and that upon such transfer being made, the said John S. Salt shall be released and discharged from all claims and demands in respect of such sum or any part thereof.

“XIV.—And whereas George Humphrys is seized to himself, his heirs and assigns, of the office of *Clerk of the Briefs*, for the lives of himself and of Josiah Humphrys, his son, by virtue of certain Letters Patent [when granted I do not discover] and the profits of the said office will be extinguished by the repeal of the said Act of Queen Anne, and compensation should therefore be granted to the said George Humphrys for the loss of such profits. Be it therefore enacted, That the said Society shall, out of the sum so to be transferred to them as aforesaid, grant such compensation to the said George Humphrys, for his interest under the said Letters Patent, as shall be a full equivalent for the Loss of the net profits of the said office, such net profits to be calculated upon an average of the last seven years.

“XV.—And whereas there is a large number of briefs now in possession of the said John S. Salt, which have been returned to him after the collections made thereon. Be it therefore enacted, That it shall be lawful for any one of H.M.’s principal Secretarys of State to make such order as he think fit, respecting the manner of disposing of the said briefs.”

It is seen that in this Act special reference is made to and provision substituted for the old system of “Church Briefs.” An incident is associated herewith. It seems to have been a sort of traditional understanding that collections in church, except for the poor of the parish, were not exactly legal, unless made under Royal authority, or by force of a statute. Accordingly the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded 1698, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, established 1701, were respectively and especially



empowered by Royal Charter to collect money for their several objects. The Act of 1828 conferred special powers upon the Church Building Society, the sovereign being constituted the patron. For many years previously an informal brief called a Royal Letter was issued triennially on behalf of that Society, as also for some other objects. The practice was continued after the passing of the Act abolishing other forms of collecting briefs. The last brief issued through the medium of the Church Building Society was in 1851 (*vide* Prosser, in *Antiquary*, iv., p. 35).

## XX.—FUNERAL BRIEFS.

I have heretofore said nothing concerning "Funeral Briefs," but I have reason to believe that they have prevailed for a very considerable period. In the early Guilds there was frequently a collection amongst the brethren in the case of a deceased member, but this was rather as a matter of right and custom, than as a matter of charity. If a form of brief were employed, it would circulate in a very limited area, not going beyond the brotherhood of the Guild. There are still existing numbers of so-called Friendly Societies, bearing the designation of "Funeral Briefs." They are very much localized in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The Fourth Report of the Commissioners on Friendly Societies (1874) says :—

"At Saltaire (near Leeds) there is a Funeral Brief of 3,000 members, conducted as follows :—'No children under seven are admitted. The benefits are £4 at the death of a child, £5 for an adult. Levies are made when they are wanted, 1d. from each child, 2d. from each adult in the club. There are about a dozen levies a year on an average. No funds are kept in hand, and no balance-sheet is printed. There are 16 collectors, who get, one way and another, about 2s. 6d. each, for each collection'" (p. clviii.). The date of formation is not stated.

In 1855 there was founded the Louth (Lincolnshire) and neighbourhood Primitive Methodist *Funeral Brief* Friendly Society. In 1875, this consisted of 398 members, with £9

in hand. The system is unsound, because uncertain, and there is no justification in its continuance. There is no real association in practice with the old system of briefs, and the name is, therefore, delusive.

## XXI.—BRIEFS COLLECTED UPON IN DISSENTING PLACES OF WORSHIP.

We have already seen that at the beginning such briefs as were not given in cases of private charity, were addressed to parish Churches and Chapelries of the Established Church. At a later period, however, Dissenting Chapels were also included, as seen by direct testimony in the case quoted under date 1704 (see 1704, near end of case).

This change was probably introduced at a later date, when a system of "Farming Briefs" came into practice. I propose to place on record a few facts on this question : they will be useful for future reference.

In the minutes of the proceedings of the monthly meeting of the *Society of Friends* held at *Exeter* in 1729, it is recorded :—"Two briefs for building or re-building two steeple-houses [churches] being offer'd to this meeting, they are returned with 'nothing collected' writ upon them."

In the "Brief-book" of the old dissenting congregation at *Framlingham*, Suffolk, in the custody of the minister, is contained regular entries of collections from early in the last century "to recent times" (*vide N. and Q.*, 5th s., iv., p. 334).

In the Key Street [near Hope Street] Chapel, *Liverpool*, the collections on briefs were entered in the Baptism-book, now in the custody of the Registrar-General, Somerset House.

In the records of the Nonconformist Chapel, *Pudsey* (near Leeds), are contained the following entries, 1762 to 1774 :—

	s.	d.
1762, 6 June.—Collected for breves ... ..	10	0
5 shillings to go for repairs of our own place.		
1763, 6 June.—Collected for breves ... ..	11	0
6 shillings out of it for repairs of our own place.		

	s.	d.
1764, 6 May.—Collected for breves ... ..	12	0
7 shillings for repairs of our own place.		
1765, 7 August.—Collected for breves ... ..	8	0
1766, 23 May.—Collected for breves ... ..	8	0
1767, 23 May.—Collected for breves ... ..	10	6
Left for repairs of our own place, 4s. 8d.		
1768, 18 July.—Collected for breves ... ..	10	2
Left for our place, 6s.		
1769, 28 May.—Collected for breves ... ..	11	2½
Paid for breves, 4s. 11d. ; left for repairs of chapel, 6s. 3½d.		
1772, 7 June.—Collected for breves ... ..	10	2
Left out for repairs of our Chapel, 5s. 2d.		

It would appear as if the briefs were accumulated during the year, and then read on a given day. On what authority the deductions were made I know not.

## XXII.—BRIEFS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

I have not heretofore said much concerning the practice of foreign countries in this matter of briefs, because I have been enabled to learn very little thereon. I have said that it was the usage of the Papal Court to issue briefs on special occasions ; but as to what constituted a proper occasion I have no means of determining. I have a few notes concerning some of the GERMAN States. In the Grand Duchy of *Frankfort*, in 1807, a system of State Fire Insurance was inaugurated, *and all collections by way of charity for those whose houses were burned were henceforward prohibited by law.* This implies that the practice of briefs had prevailed. There is another confirmatory circumstance as recently as 1879. A little village in *Nassau* was burned, and the unfortunate inhabitants petitioned the authorities for permission to take up a house-collection through the State, which, however, was refused, for the reason that “no more begging collections for damages by Hail or Fire could be permitted in the future, owing to the many excellent Insurance Companies, and the ease with which insurance indemnifying all damages could be effected.”

## XXIII.—CONCLUSION.

I hope it may be found that this subject of briefs is one worthy of being considered by the Fellows of the Royal Historical Society. I am not aware that it has found a previous exponent—certainly not in this, and I believe in no other learned Society. Briefs are occasionally referred to in antiquarian and other publications. That I have not here treated the subject exhaustively, I am prepared to admit. The points most to be regarded are two :—1. Are the facts adduced authentic? On this there can be no doubt, for I give my authorities. 2. Does the subject fall properly within the range of historical inquiry? Here again the answer seems clear. The wonder may be that the materials have lain hidden so long. I have still a mass of elucidatory details on hand, and propose to arrange these in the form of a chronological appendix (No. 3) for the use of historians and future inquirers on the same lines generally.



## APPENDIX No. 1.

(See pp. 25-27.)

Collections upon Briefs at Clent (Staffordshire)  
from 1672 to 1705.

1672. Bulkington.—Ap. 28. Coll. upo' a Br. for a fire at Bulk. in Warwicksh. 3*s.* 0*d.*

Rousle'ch.—June 16. Coll. for a fire at R. in Wortsh. 2*s.* 6*d.*

London.—July 1. Coll. for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> Shugar-house, scituate in Coleharbour, in y<sup>e</sup> parish of great Allhollowes. 2 5 *ob.*

Hinstock.—March 16. Coll. for a fire at H. in Shropsh. 2 0.

Enslaved Christia's.—Mem. Octob. 23, 70. Coll. upo' a Br. for y<sup>e</sup> Redemption of Christ<sup>s</sup> out of Turkish slavery. 1*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*

1673. ffordingbridg'.—May 12. Coll. for a fire in ff. in y<sup>e</sup> Cou'ty of Southha'pton. 11 6.

Wilcats-heath.—June 15. Coll. for a fire at W. in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Wisterton in Cheshire. 2 10 *ob.*

Russel Streete.—Aug. 24. Coll. for a fire in R. in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of S. Martyn in y<sup>e</sup> ffields in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Middlesex. 4 9.

S<sup>t</sup> Kathe'n in London.—Sept. 21. Coll. for a fire in K. nigh y<sup>e</sup> Tower. 3 4 *ob.*

Knarsbrough.—Nov. 2. Coll. for a fire in K. in y<sup>e</sup> West-riding of Yorke-shire. 1 11.

Blackhalf.—Dec. 21. Coll. for a fire at B. in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Wolverha'pton. 1 8.

S<sup>t</sup> Margretts at Cliffe.—ffeb. 1. Coll. for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> Par. of S. M. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Kent. 2 5.

1674. Nether-Wallop.—July 5. Coll. for a fire in Neth. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Southha'pton. 3 1.

Ireland.—July 27. Coll. for a f. in Dimigall in I. 3 6 *ob.*

Redborn.—Dec. 13. Coll. for a fire at R. w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> liberty of S Albans, in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Hertford. 2 8 *ob.*

1675. Watton.—May 9. Coll. for a f. at W. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Norfolk. 3 2 *q<sup>a</sup>.*

Bene'den.—May 23. Coll. upo' a Br. for y<sup>e</sup> Rebuilding of a Church at B. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Kent. 2*s.* 5*d.*

Newent.—Octob. 17. Coll. upo' a Br. for y<sup>e</sup> Rebuilding of y<sup>e</sup> Parish church at Newent in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Gloucester. 2 11.

1676. Oswestree.—June 4. Coll. for y<sup>e</sup> Rebuilding of y<sup>e</sup> Parish Church of Oswestree in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop y<sup>e</sup> sum' of 3 2 9<sup>a</sup>.

Northha'pton.—Coll. An'o 1676 for a fire in Northha'pton w<sup>ch</sup> in less than y<sup>e</sup> space of 6 houres burnt to y<sup>e</sup> grou'd y<sup>e</sup> dwelling houses of above seven hu'dred families, &c., y<sup>e</sup> loss amou'ting to y<sup>e</sup> sum' of one hu'dred fifty two thousand & eight pou'ds and upwards. 1 13 9 ob.

Bucks.—Octob. 15. Coll. for a fire at Eaton near Winsor in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Bucks. 3 7.

Towcester.—ffeb. 4. Coll. for a fire Towc. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Northha'pton. 3 3 ob.

Cottenham.—ffeb. 25. Coll. for a fire at Cottenha' in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Cambridge. 3 4 ob.

1677. Southwark in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Surry.—Coll. for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> Borough of Southwark (viz. y<sup>e</sup> Parishes of St. Saviours & St. Thomas). 12 11.

1678. Pattingha'.—June 30. Coll. for a fire at Pattingha' in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Staff<sup>a</sup>. 4 6 ob.

Wem.—Coll. for a fire at Wem, in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop. 3 2.

St. Pauls.—Coll. for y<sup>e</sup> Rebuildinge of S. Pauls Church (London). 17. 7s. 5d.

Uffington.—Coll. March 9 for a fire at Uffington in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Lyncoln. 2 9 9<sup>a</sup>.

1679. Lurgishall.—Coll. March 30 for a fire at Lurgishall in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Wilts. 3 10 ob.

Weedon Beck.—Coll. Sep. 14 for a fire at Weedon Beck in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Northha'pt. 2 10.

1680. Enslaved christians in Algiers, Sally, &c.—Mem. Aug. 9, 1680. Coll. upo' a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> Redemption of Christians (taken by y<sup>e</sup> Turkish Pyrates) out of Turkish Slavery. 17. 8s. 0d.

Duxford—Collected for a fire at Duxford in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Cambridge. 4 4 9<sup>a</sup>.

East Dearha'.—Coll. for a fire at East Dearham in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Norfolk. 3 5.

1681. St. Albans.—Coll. tow y<sup>e</sup> Repair of y<sup>e</sup> greate Parish Church of S. Alban's in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Hertford. 4 9.

ffrench Protesta'ts.—Coll. upo' a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> Reliefe of p'secuted ffrench Protestants y<sup>e</sup> fled into this Kingd. 1 5 10.

1682. Caister.—Coll. July 16 upon a Briefe for a fire at Caister in y<sup>e</sup> Parts of Lindsey in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Lincoln. 04 06 *ob.*

Poland.—Coll. Aug. 6 upo' a Briefe tow<sup>s</sup> y<sup>e</sup> reliefe of y<sup>e</sup> poore Protestant Churches in the Lesser Poland. 04 03 *ob.*

Hansworth.—Coll. for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Hansworth in y<sup>e</sup> west riding of Yorke. 02 10.

Colompto'.—Collect. for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> Town of Colomp. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Deyon. 03 08.

Ensha'.—Coll. nov. 26 for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> town of Ensham in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Oxford. 03 01.

London.—Coll. for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> Dyers Hall in Thames Streete in London. 03 08 *ob.*

Presteigne.—Coll. Feb. 11 for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> Town of Prest. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Radnor. 03 4.

1683. New Windsor.—Collect. March 25 for a fire in New Winds. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Berks. 05 01 *q<sup>a</sup>.*

Stoke.—And Coll. for a fire in Stoke by Clare in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Suffolk. 2 8 *ob. q<sup>a</sup>.*

Newmarket.—Coll. for a fire at Newmarket in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Suffolck. 10 3 *ob.*

Llanu'bdufery.—Coll. for a fire at Llanu'bdufery in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Carmarthen, March 2. 03 08.

1684. Chan'ell Row.—Coll. May 18 for a fire in Chan'ell Row in y<sup>e</sup> parish of S. Marg'rets Westm. 05 00 *ob.*

Runswick.—Collect. Aug. 3 upo' a Brief for y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of Runswick in y<sup>e</sup> North Riding of y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of York w<sup>c</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Town standing w<sup>i</sup>n a Bay on y<sup>e</sup> side of a greate Hill w<sup>ch</sup> opening about y<sup>e</sup> middle y<sup>e</sup> town did slip down from it. 03 07.

Wapping.—Collect. for a fire at Wapping in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of White Chappell and Parish of Stepney in y<sup>e</sup> county of Middlesex. 14 09 *ob.*

Saresden.—Coll. for a fire at Saresden in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Oxon. 04 00 *ob. q<sup>a</sup>.*

Alrewas.—Coll. Jan. 25 for a fire at Alrewas in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Stafford. 05 00.

Edgbaston Church.—Coll. for y<sup>e</sup> rebuilding of Edgbaston Church in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Warw. 03 00.

1685. Cawston —Coll. March 29 for a fire at Cawst. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Norfolk. 04 00 *ob. q<sup>a</sup>.*

Ely S. Marys.—Coll. May 17 for a fire at Ely S<sup>t</sup> Marys w<sup>i</sup>n y<sup>e</sup> city of Ely w<sup>i</sup>n y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Ely. 06 01 *ob.*

S<sup>t</sup> Bridgets in Ches<sup>r</sup>.—Collect. July 26 tow y<sup>e</sup> repara'on of y<sup>e</sup> Church of S<sup>t</sup> Bridgets in Chester. 03 08.

The Church of Portsmouth.—Collect. Aug. 9 tow<sup>s</sup> y<sup>e</sup> repara'on of y<sup>e</sup> Parish Church of Portsmouth in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of South-hampton. 4 2.

Market-Deeping.—Coll. Sept. 27 for a fire at Market Deeping in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Lync. 3 6.

Staverton.—Coll. Nov. 22 for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> town of Staverton in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Northha'pton. 3s. 2d. ob.

1686. Henford.—Coll. July 18 for a fire at Henford y<sup>e</sup> sum' of 04s. 00.

Cumberland.—Coll. Aug. 29 for losses by y<sup>e</sup> overflow of a River called Kirkstanton Water in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Cumberland. 03 05 ob.

Eynsbury.—Coll. Oct. 3 tow<sup>s</sup> y<sup>e</sup> rebuilding of y<sup>e</sup> Steeple and repaying of the church of Eynsbury in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Huntingdon. 03 0 ob.

Meriton.—Coll. Octob. 24 for a fire in Meriton in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop. 03 04.

Sicklinghall.—Coll. Nov. 21 for a fire in Sicklinghall in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Yorkshire. 04 02.

White Chapell & Stepny.—Coll. Dec. 20 for a fire in white Chapell and Stepney in Com' Middlx. 011 09 ob.

1688. ffrench Protesta'ts.—Collect. by venture of a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> Reliefe of ffrench Protestants the sum' of 02 01 03.

1689. Irish Protestants.—Collect. by venture of a Briefe for the Reliefe of Irish Protestants the sum' of 02 12 07.

1690. Protesta'ts of Ireland.—Collect. by venture of a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> reliefe of Irish Protestants the sum' of 01 10 10 ob.

Bungay.—Collected upon a Briefe for a fire at Bungay in Com' Suffolck the sum' of 0 13 10 ob.

New Alresford.—Coll. upo' a Briefe for a fire at New Alresford in Hampshire. 0 8 7.

St. Ives.—Collect. upon a Briefe for a fire at S. Ives in Hunting-tonshire. 0 8 5.

1691. East Smithfield.—Collect. upon a Briefe for a fire at East Smithfield in Middlesex. 04 01.

S. George in Southwarke.—Coll. by venture of a Briefe for a fire in the Parish of S. George in y<sup>e</sup> Borough of Southwark in y<sup>e</sup> County of Surrey. 11 0.



Bps. Lavinton.—Collect. upon a Briefe for a fire at Bps. Lavinton in Wiltsh. 4 6.

Stafford.—Collect. Aug. 23 by venture of a Briefe for a fire at Stafford. 3s. 7d.

Morpeth.—Coll. Dec. 6 for loss by fire at Morpeth in Northu'ber. 4 7.

Teingmouth & Shaldon.—Coll. in y<sup>e</sup> month for loss by fire in Teingmouth & Shaldon in Com' Devon'. 9 0.

Thirske.—Coll. ffeb<sup>r</sup> 28 for loss by fire at Thirske in the North Riding of y<sup>e</sup> Cou'ty of York. 2 7.

1692. Clopton, &c.—Coll. for the sufferers of Clopton, &c., de Norwich by casualties at sea. 8 2.

Bealt.—Coll. June 12 for loss by fire at Bealt [Builth] in Com' Brecon. 4 8.

Oswestrey.—Coll. July 24 for loss by fire at Oswes. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop. 4 10.

Ledbury.—Coll. Sept. 18 for loss by fire at Ledbu. in Com' Hereford. 3 10.

Captives.—Collect. upo' a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> Redemption of Captives taken by y<sup>e</sup> Turkish Pirates of Algiers, &c. 19 0.

Elsworth.—Coll. Dec. 25 for loss by fire at Elsw. in Com' Cambri'. 6 4.

Havant.—Collect. March 12 for loss by fire at Havant in South-a'pto'shire. 6 0 ob.

1693. Hedon.—Collect. May 7 for a fire at Hedon in Yorkshire. 3 6.

Nantwell.—Coll. June 25 for a fire at Nantwell in Radnorshire. 3 10.

Churchill.—Coll. Octobr. 29 for a fire at Churchill in Oxfordshire 4 01.

Lambeth Parish.—Coll. y<sup>e</sup> same year for a fire near the Sawmill Yard in Lambeth Parish. 4 1 ob.

Chagford.—Coll. for a fire at Chagford in the cou'ty of Devon. 7 01.

Wooller.—Coll. Janu. 28 for a fire at Wooller in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Northumberland. 5 2 q

1694. Yalding.—Coll. May 13 for a fire at Yalding in Com' Kent. 4 4 q<sup>a</sup>.

ffrench Protes'ts.—Coll. againe upon anoth<sup>r</sup> Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> reliefe of

some ffrench Protestants y<sup>t</sup> upon a p'secu'on fled into this kingd.  
o 19 *ob.*

1695. Yorke.—Coll. for a fire in y<sup>e</sup> city of Yorke. 13 10.

Warwick.—Coll. from house to house in April for a fire at Warwick. 2 18 9.

1696. Gillingham.—Coll. Aprīl 26 for a fire at Gillingham in Dorsetsh. o 4 o.

Wreckardine.—Coll. May 24 for a fire at Wreckardine in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop. o 3 5 *ob.*

1697. Wolverha'pton.—Collected from house to house for a fire at Wolverhampton. o 19 6.

1698. Soham.—Collected March 27 upon a Briefe for a fire at Soham in Cambridgeshire. o 3 6.

1699. ffrench Protestants.—Collected upon a Briefe for ffrench Protestants from house to house. 1 11 o6.

Lancaster.—Aug. 27 Collected upon a Briefe for a fire at Lancaster. o 3 2.

1700. Redempt.—Collected upon a Briefe for the Redemption of Engl. Captives (who are in slavery at Machanes under y<sup>e</sup> Emperour of ffez and Moroccoe) y<sup>e</sup> sum' of 12 o.

Bermondsey.—Collect. upo' a Briefe for a fire near y<sup>e</sup> River of Thames in y<sup>e</sup> parish of S. Mary Magd. Bermondsey. 10 6.

1701. Eli Cath.—Coll. for y<sup>e</sup> repairing of y<sup>e</sup> damage of Eli Cathedral March 30. 3 6 *ob.*

Cruckmeal.—May 4 Collected upon a Briefe for a fire at Cruckmeal in y<sup>e</sup> Parish of Pontsbury in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop. 4 o1.

Beccles.—Collect. upon a Briefe for a fire at Beccles in com' Suffolk. 5 2 *ob.*

Bromly Church.—Coll. Sep. 28 upon a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> repair of Bromly Church in Staffordsh. 5 6.

Broughton.—Collect. Jan. 19 for a fire at B. in Northa'ptonsh. 5 o *ob.*

Rye Church.—Coll. ffebr. 22 for y<sup>e</sup> Repairs of R. Chu. in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Sussex. 3 11.

1702. Lem'ster.—Coll. upon a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> burning of Leminster Church in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Hereford. 11s. 4d.

Longdon.—Coll. May 31 upo' a Briefe for a fire at Longdon in Com' Staff. 3 2 *ob.*

Chepstow Church.—Coll. upon a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> repara'on of Chepstow Church in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Monmouth. 6 8 *ob.*

Hornsea.—Coll. upon a Briefe for a fire at Hornsea in Yorksh. 2 9.

Chester Cathedral.—Collected tow<sup>s</sup> y<sup>e</sup> rep'a'on of Chester Cathedral. 6 0.

1703. Monkes Kerby.—Collected upon a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> Rebuilding of Monkes Kerby Church and Steeple in Com' Warwick. 4 10.

S. Gyles in Shrewsb.—Coll. upon a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> rebuilding of S. Gyles Church in Shrewsbury. 4 6.

ffaringdon in Berks.—Coll. Oct. 17 upo' a Briefe for a fire at ffaringdon in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Berks. 3 3 *ob.*

Spittle ffields in Middlesex.—Collect. Nov. 14 upo' a Briefe for a fire at Spittlefields in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Middlesex. 3 3 *q<sup>a</sup>.*

Wrottesley in Com' Staff.—Coll. Dec. 5 for loss by fire at Wrottesley in Com' Staff. 3 4 *ob. q<sup>a</sup>.*

ffordingbridge in Com' South.—Collect. Janu. 16 upo' a Briefe for loss by fire at fffordingbridge in Com' Southhampton. 3 4.

Ora'ge Refugees.—Collect. upon a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> Orange Refugees. 20 0.

1704. Tuxford Com' Nottingh.—Coll. March 26 for loss by fire at Tuxford in Com' Nottingh. 3 0.

Greate Q. Street in Com' Middlesex.—Coll. May 7 for loss by fire in greate Queens Streete in y<sup>e</sup> parish of S<sup>t</sup> Giles in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Middlesex. 3 1.

Stockton in Com' Sa.—Coll. May 21 for loss by fire at Stockton in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop. 3 2.

Wapping.—Coll. Aug. 6 for loss by fire at Wapping in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Middlesex. 4 3 *ob.*

Greate Massingha'.—Coll. Sep. 10 for loss by fire at greate Massingham in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Norfolk. 3 6.

Longdon.—Coll. Dec. 17 for loss by fire at Longdon in Pontesbury parish in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Salop. 4 0.

Hyrrecane.—Coll. Janu. 14 upon a Briefe for Seamens widows ; made so by a dreadfull storm and tempest (call'd an Hyrrecane) w<sup>ch</sup> happ'n'd Nov. 26 and 27, 1703 ; I say coll. the sum' of 6 0.

South molton.—Coll. ffebr. 18 upon a Briefe for loss by fire at South molton in Com' Devon. 2 9 *ob.*

Stony Stratford.—Coll. March 11 for loss by fire at Stony Stratford in Com' Bucks. 3 1 ob.

1705. Church Minshall.—Coll. Apr. 22 tow<sup>s</sup> the defraying the Charge of rebuilding y<sup>e</sup> parish church of Church Minshall in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Chester. 3 2.

All S<sup>t</sup>s in Oxon.—Coll. Aug. 5 upon a Briefe for y<sup>e</sup> rebuilding of All Saints Church in Oxford. 2 8.

Kirton.—Coll. Sept. 2 upon a Briefe for a fire at Kirton in Lindsey in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Lincoln. 2 10.

Rolleston.—Coll. Sep. 23 upo' a Br. for a fire at Rolleston in Com. Staff. 2 6.

Beverley.—Coll. Nov. 11 upo' a Bri. for y<sup>e</sup> Repair of Beverley Church in the cou'ty of York. 2 8.

S. Saviours.—Coll. Dec. upo' a Bri. for a fire in the p'ish of S. Saviours in Southwark in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Surry. 2 6.

Bradmore.—Coll. Janu. 27 upo' a Briefe for a fire at Bradmore in y<sup>e</sup> cou'ty of Nottingham. 3 2.

*Vide Notes and Queries*, 5th s., iv., pp. 447, 481.

## APPENDIX No. 2.

(See p. 13 of preceding Paper.)

CORPORATION OF LONDON RECORDS.—Briefs which had been collected upon at the following dates and for purposes stated are now preserved with the Records of the Corporation of London. These are the originals with the amounts collected endorsed thereon; and orders upon the funds collected.

1671-2-4. *Redemption of Captives in Algiers, &c.* Orders upon the Chamberlain, signed by the Commissioners, Lords Albemarle, Anglesea, Craven, Lauderdale, Carlisle, Newport, Holles and others, for payment to various persons for the Redemption of Captives in Algiers, Salley, &c.

1676. For the relief of sufferers by fire in Southwark.

1681. For the relief of Protestants in Lesser Poland—one vol.



1687-8. *French Protestant Refugees.* Briefs issued by the King for collections to be made for the Relief of the French Protestant Refugees. With statements of amounts collected and signatures of the ministers and churchwardens of the various parishes, 20th January, 1687-8. The like in 1694 and 1698.

1689-90. For relief of poor Irish Protestants.

1690. For relief of sufferers by fire in Southwark.

1691. *Captives in Algiers.* Briefs for collections to be made for the Relief of the Captives in Algiers, Salley, and other places in Barbary, and on the coast of Africa. With endorsements of amounts collected and signatures of ministers and churchwardens.

1696. For the relief of sufferers by fire in Wapping.

1699. *The Vaudois.* Briefs for collections in aid of the distressed Vaudois, 12th March, 1699.

1700. *Fire in Bermondsey.* Briefs for collections for relief of sufferers by, with statements of amounts collected, signatures of ministers and churchwardens of the various parishes, 28th May, 1700.

*Poor Slaves in Machanes* under the power of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco. Briefs for collections, with signatures, &c. May 26, 1700.

*Poor Slaves in Machanes*, under the power of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco. Letters from the Lord Bishop of London and the Lord Mayor to the clergy of the different parishes for further collections on the above behalf, the amount raised being insufficient to complete the Redemptions; with further letters from the King to the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London thereon. Signatures, &c., Nov. 24, 1701.

*Fire at Beccles, Suffolk.* Briefs for collections in aid of the distress. Signatures, &c., June 8, 1700.

1703. For relief of widows and orphans of seamen who perished in storms this year.

1703-12. For relief of Refugees of Principality of Orange.

1704. For sufferers by fire at St. John's, Wapping.

1706. *Fire at Iniskilling.* — Briefs for the collections for the relief of the sufferers. Signatures, &c., Dec. 19, 1705. It is a copy of the brief used on this occasion that I give in the text.

1709. *Poor Distressed Palatines.* Briefs for the relief, subsistence, and settlement of the. Signatures, &c.

1709-11. For relief of poor Palatines. One vol.

1716. For relief of sufferers by fire at Limehouse.

I believe it will be found that these briefs came into possession of the Corporation from the fact of some of its principal officers from time to time being appointed receivers of the money collected under them. For instance, it will be seen in reference to some of them that the money was returnable to Mr. Wagstaff, who was the Town Clerk. In the brief for fire at Iniskilling (1705) the monies and the briefs were actually returnable to the "Chamber of London."

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### APPENDIX No. 3,

#### GIVING CHRONOLOGICAL DETAILS AND REFERENCES NOT EMBODIED IN THE TEXT.

1558. "The Registers of *Blundeston* (Suffolk) commence . . . . They contain several notices of monies collected by Brief in aid of sufferers by fire in distant parts of England. Among others, 'to a loss by fire at y<sup>e</sup> head of y<sup>e</sup> Cannon-gate at Edinburgh, in North Britain, Jan. 13, 170<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>, 1s. 6d.' . . ."—Suckling's "*Suffolk*" (1846, vol. i., p. 320).

1580. In the Parish Register of *Ecclesfield* (S. Yorks), this year, there is an entry: "For y<sup>e</sup> bookes of y<sup>e</sup> earthquake xiiijd."

1609. Church—*Arthuret*, Cumberland. Built "by the help of a 'charity brief;' having before been a mean, low, ruinous building, and often destroyed by the Scots," according to Nicolson and Burn's "*History of Westmorland and Cumberland*" (1777), vol. ii., p. 472.

1628. St. Mary's, *Maldon* (Essex), tower became ruinous and fell, destroying part of the church. Brief granted by Car. I. Given *in extenso*, Wright's "*History of Essex*," ii., pp. 647-8

1634. *Bere Regis* (Dorset). "An order of sessions passed, that this town, lately consumed by fire, should receive 50*l.* out of the county stock; and a petition for a brief was ordered, the loss being 7,000*l.*"—Hutchins' "*History, &c., of Dorset*," 1774, vol. i., p. 43.

1641. Dec. 27. *Farnborough*, Kent. By a brief of this date (17 Car. I.) it appears that the inhabitants were forced to take down and

rebuild their church in consequence of a violent storm of wind, on 26 Dec. 1639.—Hasted's "History of Kent" (1778), vol. i., p. 115.

1642. In the Constable's account of his expenditure in the parish of *Ecclesfield* (Yorks), at this date there is an item, "Given to a poore widdow woman of Lembrech, who had sustayned 900<sup>l</sup> loss by fire."

1647. The "High Town," Bridgnorth (Salop), was burned by the Royalists during the siege of the Castle; loss £90,000. A petition was sent to Parliament, and a brief was granted by way of relief under Letters Patent, which however did not produce much; but at the Restoration a Proclamation was issued by the King, which brought means to complete the rebuilding.—*Vide* information from Hubert Smith, Esq., Town Clerk.

1653. The Parish Registers of Toddington (Beds), commenced this year to record the details of briefs collected upon in the church there, and the practice was continued down to 1810. The number of briefs recorded being 106. This, however, gives but one brief in each 1½ year—and therefore conveys no correct idea of the frequency with which briefs were sent out.

1657. There was published—*A Book of the Names of all Parishes, Market Places, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and smaller places in England and Wales, a work very necessary for Travellers, Strangers, Gatherers of Breefs, &c., &c.*

1660–2. The Registers of the Parish of *Cheadle* (Cheshire) contain many entries of collections on briefs during these three years.—*Vide* Earwaker's "East Cheshire" (1877), i., p. 235. Amongst these is one in favour of 100 Protestant Churches in the Dukedom of Lithuania.

In the Register of Charles' Church, *Plymouth*, are a number of entries made of collections on briefs at this date. *Vide* "Western Antiquary," vol. i. (1881).

1660–5. At the end of vol. ii. of the Registers of the Parish of *Northenden* (Cheshire) will be found a number of entries of collections on briefs.—*Vide* Earwaker's "East Cheshire," i., p. 304.

1660–84. At the end of vol. i. of the Registers of *Taxal* (Cheshire) are some pages of entries of collections on briefs during these years.—*Vide* Earwaker's "East Cheshire," ii., p. 548.

1661. This year Charles II. granted a patent for a brief in support



of the scheme of the *Royal Fishery* Company for Great Britain and Ireland.—*Vide* Macpherson's "History of Commerce," ii., p. 503.

1661-5. The Registers of *Disley* (Cheshire) contain entries regarding Church Briefs at this date.—*Vide* Earwaker's "East Cheshire" (1880), ii., p. 100.

1665-6. The Parish Registers of *Stockport* (Cheshire) contain entries of collections on briefs during these years.—*Vide* Earwaker's "East Cheshire," i., p. 409.

1666. *Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis* (Dorset).—In this year "was a brief for both towns, which seems to have been granted to repair the damages sustained during the rebellion." In 1695, another; but whether on occasion of fire, or for repairing the harbour, is uncertain.—Hutchins's "History, &c., of Dorset," 1774, vol. i., p. 403.

1667. The Registers of the Parish of St. Nicholas, *Durham*, contain entries of collections upon briefs from 1667 to 1694. They are twenty-one in all—being less than one per annum.

1668. Parish Registers of *Clent* (Worcestershire) recorded briefs from this date to 1705, inclusive, numbering in all 136, giving an average of four per annum.

1676-1707. In the Churchwardens' accounts of the Parish of *Prestbury* (Cheshire) is contained a great number of entries of sums collected on briefs for various purposes.—*Vide* Earwaker's "East Cheshire," ii., pp. 228-9.

1676-1719. The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire published *Extracts from the Registers of Ormskirk Church*, under the editorship of James Dixon, Esq. Amongst these is a list of briefs extending from the year 1676 to 1719, inclusive, and embracing 150 separate collections.

1682-96. In the book of Parish accounts for the Parish of *Ecclesfield* (S. Yorks) there are entries of lists of briefs collected upon between these dates.—*Vide* "History of Ecclesfield," 1862, p. 228.

1688. *Bungay* (Suffolk).—A brief to collect money in church, as well as from door to door, in aid of the sufferers from the fire of March 1, in this town, was granted on June 7, 1688, the first year of the reign of William and Mary. The original brief was engrossed on parchment.—*Vide* Suckling's "Suffolk," i., p. 127.

1690. A brief was issued for *Teignmouth* (Devon) in respect of



losse by y<sup>e</sup> French landing, firing and plundering y<sup>e</sup> Toune, 26 July. Y<sup>e</sup> loss ii000*l*. [*£*2,000].

The Registers of Springthorpe Church (Lincolnshire) give an account of briefs from August 13, 1690, to May 14, 1704, being 69 in all, or an average of 5 per each year.

1693. The Register of burials (vol. iii.) of the parish of *Northenden* (Cheshire) contains an entry under date 8th February this year, "A strange woman, a traveller, that had a briefe."—*Vide* Earwaker's "East Cheshire," i., p. 305.

1694. *Warwick* (England), September 8. More than half the town destroyed, and the castle greatly damaged. A national collection was made by means of briefs, under which *£*110,000 was raised. Queen Anne gave *£*1,000.

1705. The Registers of the Parish of Cowley (near Oxford) contain a very full record of briefs received and collected upon from this date down to 1737 inclusive.—*Vide N. and Q.*, 6th s., ii., pp. 187–9.

1707. There was printed *Proposals tender'd for an addition to the late Act of Parliament for collecting charity on briefs by Letters Patents*, by Margaret-Mortimer, Widow. 4to (see paper 1701).

1709. "The tower of St. Mary's Church in *Cardigan*, with five large bells, chimes and clock therein, fell down 11th August, 1705. In 1709 a brief under the Great Seal was granted for rebuilding it, but no more than *£*400 was received for that purpose from the undertaker.—*Vide* inscription in Cardigan Church.

1711. All Saints' Chapel, *Cockermouth*, was built this year, "for the expense whereof a Charity Brief was obtained."—*Vide* Nicolson and Burns "History of Westmorland and Cumberland" (1777), ii., p. 67.

1712. In Staveley's "History of Churches," 2nd edit., pp. 99–101, there is a reference to the Reign of Briefs.

1715. *Woodham Ferrers* (Essex). In 1703 the whole tower of St. Mary's Church fell down, but was rebuilt by a brief in 1715.—Knight's "Essex," i., p. 134.

1718. *St. Helen's* (Isle of Wight). "The old church was situated at the extremity of the parish, so near the sea, that the waves dashed away a great part of the churchyard, and even endangered the building itself; the inhabitants, therefore, obtained a brief for the erection of a new church, which was accordingly built," &c., and consecrated in 1719.—Warner's "Hampshire," 1795, vol. i., sec. 2, p. 188.

1731. *Blandford-Forum* (Dorset). June 4. The whole of this town, with the exception of 26 houses, destroyed; buildings mostly thatched. The loss, *after deducting all insurances*, was found to amount to £84,348. Towards meeting this, "King's Briefs" were issued, under which about one-third of the loss was recouped after paying the expenses of collection.

1752. *Shellow Bowells* (Essex). "The church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, which had become ruinous, was re-edified in 1752 by a brief, and the assistance of the neighbouring gentry," &c.—Wright's "History of Essex," vol. ii., 1835, p. 281.

1759. A collection was made in this county for carrying on and completing the building of Portand Island Church (Dorset), "but it produced little."—Hutchins's "History of Dorset," i., p. 598.

1771. The Chapel of *Bosley* (Cheshire), being in a dangerous condition, was granted a limited brief for counties of Chester, Lancaster, Stafford, and Derby

1779. The Church of *Chart Sutton* (Kent) was burned down. "A brief has been lately granted under the Great Seal, to be collected throughout the county from house to house, and a liberal contribution has been made by the neighbouring gentry and clergy, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, and a considerable progress has already been made in the structure."—Hasted's "History of Kent," ii., p. 407.

1786. *Windle* (Cheshire). Presentment to Justices at Knutsford, that Chapel ruinous, &c. In 1788, brief for collection of money granted.—In 1815, another brief.—See Brit. Mus. Briefs, B. xxviii. 5, and B. lvi. 1.

1804. Under date March 1, Mr. Nares, "Secretary of Briefs" to the Lord Chancellor, issued a circular of directions to the clergy, one of which was that each brief should be read *separately*. Attention was again drawn to it in 1810.

The *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine*, for September and November, 1804, gave many details concerning the charges on briefs. Also in June, 1808.

1815. Brief was issued "for the relief of the families of the brave men killed, and of the wounded sufferers of the British Army at the Battle of Waterloo." A very large sum was collected.

## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF "OLD JAPAN."

(DAI NIPON.)

*Read before the Royal Historical Society, Thursday, April 15th, 1880.*

By C. PFOUNDÉS, Esq. F.R.G.S., &c. (long resident in Japan, and a member of the Society).

### ABSTRACT.

IN Japanese history, I am convinced the competent explorer will find, a rich fund of interesting material ; and much that will prove important to the orientalist and historian.

We have had already some translations of native standard works, and many extracts, placed before us, yet there is still much that is as yet totally unknown to the outside world in those works, although they have passed through the hands of the native censors. In these semi-official histories it is generally supposed, that there is little beyond the dry records of the succession of the 123 great rulers of divine origin, beginning 660 years before A.D., together with a few salient facts, and the enumeration of earthquakes, storms, etc.

Everything that would be otherwise than complimentary to the Imperial family or the great nobles, it is true, has been studiously suppressed, in the histories hitherto accessible to foreigners ; and many of those details that would be most interesting, and most valuable, must be sought for elsewhere.

Amongst the educated classes will be found, a strong tendency to incorporate the classical literature and history of ancient China with Japanese ; but amongst the less highly educated, and the inhabitants of the unfrequented localities, will be found a vast treasure of indigenous legend and myth, that is almost entirely free of any extraneous influence.

The olden time ultra-Conservative and exclusive policy

would preserve the old legends, and it is to this branch of the subject that I would wish to direct the attention of those who can on the spot follow up this interesting investigation.

Nothing can be learned from the young student class of to-day ; it is the old Conservative men of culture whom the explorer should seek the aid of. Amongst this rich mine many a precious jewel of myth, folk-lore, and legend, will be found ; and it only needs the skill of the scientific investigator, to prepare and mount such gems, in an appropriate setting, of comparative mythology and history.

Whilst the native annalists claim but a very moderate antiquity for the commencement of their historic period—a modesty that deserves great praise when compared with the claims to antiquity of other Oriental races—there is a great deal of prehistoric mythological detail that well deserves close attention and careful translation. The native account of the Creation, though by no means scientific, is yet most interesting, describing as it does the first chaotic condition, the separation of the ethereal by precipitation of the grosser element, and the ascending of the purer ; of the appearance between these of divine beings ; and then the successive steps of creation by evolution ; the great powers of nature being personified, or rather represented by an elaborate nomenclature, given to the innumerable divine spirits that partook of the creation of the country, and that still guard this people, who claim a divine origin.

About the same period that we ascribe to the earliest Roman history, the Japanese claim for the commencement of their era ; and then began the hero-worship that still exists as the indigenous cultus, notwithstanding the introduction of Buddhist doctrines, and the widespread and firm hold these obtained in more recent times. More than twenty-four and a half centuries have passed, since the ancestor of the present Emperor transferred his residence and his rule, to the vicinity of what we know as Kioto, the seat of the ancient court, sometimes called Miako.

Pottery and other arts had made some progress under



official patronage, and the early prehistoric rulers are credited with having succeeded in introducing a comparatively high degree of civilization.

Confucius died in China during the rule of the 4th *Ten O* (Celestial monarch), but it was some centuries before his literary works or those of his followers reached Japan.

In the middle of the fourth century B.C., a prehistoric chief-tain was apotheosized, being credited with having introduced great improvement into pottery, and other arts and civilizing influences; and one Waka-netzu-hiko no Mikoto was directed by the Emperor, to superintend the fabrication of artistic pottery, for religious purposes about this period.

More than two centuries B.C., and during the rule in China of the builder of the Great Wall (who had endeavoured to exterminate scholars and destroy all the ancient literature), numbers of Chinese men of learning sought a refuge in less hostile lands, and some of those reached Japan. The Chinese Emperor had sent envoys to many, and some distant countries, at great cost, in search of the Philosopher's Stone and the Elixir of Immortality, for astrologers and alchemists were numerous in the East even at that early date. These returning unsuccessful were, as in all time has been the case in China, either assassinated or forced to die by their own hands. The more astute envoy sent to Japan remained there, and founded a great and noble family named *Hatta*, that still exists. Chinese literature was, therefore, not unknown in Japan at this early date, but it was not widely studied. Warlike and manly sports occupied the time, of those who had not to labour at tilling the soil, and less noble occupations.

An expedition was despatched against Japan from *Go*, one of the kingdoms of the Continent, but this Armada was wrecked. Two generations later another expedition was sent by the Chinese to conquer Corea. Some of the special histories contain many entries, concerning the visits of people from far-off lands, and accounts of Japanese who had also travelled. Many early expeditions of Japanese marauders

went to the mainland, but of these more details are to be found in Chinese than in Japanese annals.

In the beginning of the first century before A.D., embassies from China were despatched to Japan to renew the long-interrupted diplomatic intercourse. Subsequently the worship of Ten-sho was inaugurated, and although now the most highly venerated, was more recently brought into prominence than many other divinities now held in less esteem.

The continued efforts to subdue the wild tribes of the eastern and northern provinces, were more successful than for more than five centuries previous, through the valour and determined conduct of a scion of the Imperial race. Great progress had been made in building large vessels, for long voyages, in this epoch.

The visits of ships from far-off countries appear to have been of frequent occurrence at this early time even.

Tribute had been paid by Corea to Japan, notwithstanding its partial conquest by the Chinese; and B.C. 33, several hundred pieces of crimson silk formed part of the tribute to Japan. Wrestling was a favourite Imperial pastime in those days, and the champion also made for himself a prominent position in history by his successful efforts to put down human sacrifice, practised on the death of a great personage. Confucius had condemned this custom, existing in his time in some parts of China. This wrestler substituted the clay images to be buried with the great deceased, instead of immolation of followers, who were often buried alive.

B.C. 4. The shrine dedicated to Ten-sho was established at *Ise*, and virgins, members of the Imperial family, were given the custody of this shrine of the sun goddess. This custom of virgin custodians was perpetuated to our own time, but Imperial maidens were not always forthcoming, so that latterly the daughters of the chief male guardians have filled the office (called *Miko*).

Buddhism had reached China, but had failed to gain a permanent foothold there, nor did it succeed better in Japan till later on and under Imperial patronage.

Rebellion amongst the wild inhabitants of the eastern and northern provinces, and also in Corea, kept the Japanese warriors and statesmen fully occupied during the first, second, and third centuries A.D.

A great general was crossing with his followers one of the large inlets of the coast, when a storm suddenly overtook them. Tatchibana Hime, the beautiful mistress of the leader, cast herself into the angry waves, as a peace-offering to the demon of the storm; and though the raid proved successful the general pined after his devoted and beautiful mistress.

In A.D. 135 the empire was re-divided into provinces, districts, cities, and wards; and the system of government revised, and more precisely defined.

Whilst Britain was but a Roman colony, and Adrian was busy rebuilding Jerusalem, Japan had made great progress in civilization, under the rule of the 12th Emperor; and its warriors were feared and respected in Corea and China.

Just before the death of the Ten O, a rising in Corea was to have been suppressed, but an outbreak in one of the southern provinces delayed the expedition. The widowed Empress, there being yet no heir, determined upon quelling both these insurrections; and history relates how courageously she led her brave and warlike followers, herself clad in armour, wielding sword and drawing bow. A child was born subsequently. This posthumous child had instructors procured for him from Corea, and this is the period usually ascribed as that when Chinese writing was first known in Japan; this is, however, erroneous, but the patronage of classical literature and the fine arts by this able Empress, no doubt stimulated the general desire for knowledge.

Again China sent an expedition against Japan, and again it was wrecked before inflicting any injury.

A.D. 288. The ordeal by "hot water" is mentioned as having been actually practised by the accuser of a great statesman in these times.

A.D. 324. Iron targets or shields were introduced from Corea; behind these the warriors advanced towards their



enemies, but a celebrated Japanese archer having succeeded in piercing them, they were held of small account.

Interspersed with these early records are numerous "wonder stories" of great warriors subduing demons, dragons, ghouls, and monsters, that caused desolation (that are no doubt curious and interesting to the folk-lore student). In A.D. 355, a Corean prince whilst a prisoner in Japan introduced falconry, and in A.D. 400, a collection of myths, legends, and historical facts was made by Imperial order. A century later all aliens were deported, but ere long the Buddhist Propagandists gained a footing. Passing rapidly over many curious details we must note that with the tenets of the Buddhists also came a general study of Chinese literature, and the old system of patriarchal government gradually tended towards feudalism, culminating in this becoming the permanent form of government, towards the end of the twelfth century, and continuing down to our own time.

The celebrated Happy Despatch, as we call it, was first observed at this period, during the ups and downs of the struggles of the two great factions, similar to our wars of the Roses; strange, too, that red and white should have been the colours of these two rival clans.

A.D. 1195. Yoshitsune, the brother of Yoritomo, the victor in this struggle, disappeared, and it is claimed, with much reason, that he reappeared in the north of Asia as Genghis Khan. It was the successor of this man that invaded Japan in 1281; but once more the winds and waves assisted in the destruction of the hostile force, and not one ship escaped. From the twelfth to the fifteenth century there was but little peace in Old Japan. Civil war, local strife, and family feuds, fill up the bulky history of the period, up to the time of the advent of Europeans in the sixteenth century.

It was after the expulsion of the priests and their converts in the seventeenth century—after a brief career—and the forcible closing of the country to indiscriminate foreign intercourse, that the subsequent two and a quarter centuries of peace permitted the development of that high degree of



culture and Art instinct that has recently proved such a revelation to us here. The arts had been from time to time highly cultivated and fostered by successive rulers, but the short intervals of peace, broken by the frequent outbreaks of hostilities between the quarrelsome clansmen of the turbulent barons, precluded any very widespread advance in the higher and more refined arts.

It was whilst the Tokugawa clan peacefully governed the country, from the end of the sixteenth century down to our own time, that the histrionic and decorative arts, as well as the poetic and artistic instincts, and high degree of literary culture, of the Japanese, found the fullest encouragement, and most ample opportunities for their development.

With the advent of foreigners came trouble once more, and no one who is free of personal interest, or partizan bias, can truthfully aver that the renewal of treaty intercourse has proved a blessing to Old Japan and its people in this nineteenth century.

# NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF EASTERN ADVENTURE, EXPLORATION, AND DISCOVERY, AND FOREIGN INTERCOURSE WITH JAPAN.

*Read on Thursday, January 20th, 1881.*

By C. PFOUNDDES, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c. (long resident in Japan, and a member of the Society).

## ABSTRACT.

IN the paper I had the honour of reading before this society on a previous occasion, I alluded to the early explorers and adventurers, whose efforts were directed towards "Japan," no doubt incited by the accounts of Marco Polo, and other early voyagers and travellers. Numerous efforts were made by private individuals, as well as by the heads of great nations, to open up fresh routes. I am strongly of opinion that justice is not done to the intelligence and energy of these early explorers, whom it has been but too general a fashion to call buccaneers. Few written accounts have come down to us of the earlier explorers and adventurers. Few men of those times had the literary talent, even if they had the will, to have their adventures put down in writing ; but there are other and more cogent reasons why so little has been handed down to us.

We are as yet barely on the threshold of knowledge of the vast literature of Oriental peoples, ancient and modern, and I have no doubt that such treasures of material await the explorer into the archives of the Vatican and other literary collections, monastic or otherwise, far and wide, that will throw considerable light upon the early voyages and travels.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, national rivalry attained such a fierce mastery, that the astute Pontiff drew an arbitrary line in mid-ocean ; and using his great

moral power, divided the two great rivals. To the eastward the Portuguese were free to go, to the westward the Spaniards might likewise voyage and conquer, with a sword in one hand and a crucifix in the other, their very souls steeped in unholy desires, in ambition, and in insatiable greed. Can we wonder, therefore, that no effort was spared by either to become the sole possessor of all information, and of any documents that, proving prior discovery, would invalidate their pre-emptive rights. It would be too much to expect that such documents would be permitted to come down to us. A case in point is the mysterious disappearance of the papers and maps, &c., of Cabot, immediately after his death, although entrusted to one Will Worthington.

Yet, surely, much must have escaped the fanatical monk, and Mussulman, or the hireling of the Spanish or other court ; and it is with a desire to set on foot inquiry, that I have enlarged on this point. The late Pontiff Pio Nino and Cardinal Antonelli promised me, through Monseigneur Nardi, that search should be made—this was in 1870—but as may be imagined nothing was done, and events in Rome subsequently, precluded my hoping that any steps would be taken to throwing any light upon these matters.

Although the earliest voyages can scarcely be said to have been altogether prompted by a desire to find a sea route to the East, to overcome the physical obstacle of the Isthmus of Suez ; yet there seems to be little doubt, that at that time it was quite as, if not more, important a matter, than it is at present, where a navigable north-about route is ostensibly the object in view in Arctic Exploration.

Whether the South of Africa was, or was not, circumnavigated, nearly twenty-five centuries ago, the fact remains, that in times more remote than the first efforts to civilize the West of Europe, various routes were from time to time used ; and for reasons I need not detain you by enumerating, they were abandoned, and other routes tried. Geographical knowledge there certainly was, but it was a most jealously guarded secret. The fourth estate and the penny press had no existence,

a copy of the Bible twenty centuries later, and not so many centuries either before our own day, cost more than the building, at the time, of two arches of London Bridge, so that literature was a luxury only for the richest. It may be interesting to note that up to the time of the end of the Kingdom of Israel and the almost coëval foundation of the Roman Empire, Japanese history begins, and even at that early date geographical and other scientific knowledge, though certainly confined to a very few, yet still existed; and we must not deem the ancients ignorant or barbarous, it is rather we who are ignorant as to the exact state of their scientific knowledge, as well as their intellectual life and culture.

The Easterns appear to have been ever far better informed about the West than our ancestors, or we ourselves are about the East and its people. Even before the Buddhist propagandists travelled afar in all directions, surmounting difficulties that it is only enthusiasts can essay to overcome, there were not a few voyagers and travellers, for we frequently meet confirmation of ancient accounts, records that were doubtless known to a few, so that many comparatively modern so-called discoveries can doubtless be traced to intelligent efforts to follow up a clue. Tracing step by step the progress of exploration, so far as we are in possession of details, we find that at a very early date, the spherical form of the earth being known, a passage to India to the westward was looked upon, by a few, it is true, as a possibility, and the voyages of the Carthaginian Brothers, and other daring adventurers, were not only prompted by this motive, but the results tended to confirm the theories put forth. The resumption of the Red Sea route, after the abandonment of the dangerous coasting voyage, and the monsoons having been understood and taken due advantage of, in the fourth century before our era, gave a new impetus to Eastern trade, to the neglect for a time of Western exploration. In the far East the people were active meanwhile. In 194 B.C., the westward route was again taken up in Alexandria, and the rich spoils that arrived in Rome only tended to create a greater desire



for a safer and more expeditious route to the fabulously rich and luxurious East. China was extending, by conquest, her already wide territory : even Corea fell a victim for a time ; and maritime commercial intercourse was of a very extensive character even at that early period.

While Britain was being colonized, and Iceland first visited, Japan had made progress in shipbuilding, and war-like expeditions were not unfrequent ; even raids and descents on the coasts of distant countries were of yearly occurrence.

The existence of seas beyond the Aurea Chersonesis, and to the southward of Africa, were more than merely suspected, by the Westerns, to exist ; in fact, maps were drawn, showing these places upon them, at an earlier date than is generally credited now-a-days.

In the third century, the Christian religion had reached the far East, and as a consequence, more detailed accounts reached Europe, of these wonder-lands. In the fifth century, the desire for geographical knowledge was very general ; we read of royal personages, Pontiffs, and other potentates, not only fostering the science, but actually becoming translators and compilers. Arthur of England was one of these ; then there is the traveller Hoey Shan, one of many such, about whose Fu-san so much discussion has arisen recently. By the bye, Fu-san or Fu-so is an old name for Japan.\*

Not long before the appearance of Mahomet, detailed accounts about China had reached Europe. Buddhism had lost ground, and a dark age, intellectually speaking, an impenetrable cloud of bigotry and ignorance, fell over all countries. The Saracen wars, and other causes, tended to make a long blank in the history of exploration, and it appears to have been the Moors, who once more became the mediums of a revival of learning, science, and art.

\* I gave this title to a budget of notes printed in the *Japan Mail* in 1873-75, and Professor Douglas confirmed my opinion, that Fu-san is Japan. He informed me that the Chinese written character for the Fu-san of Hoey Shan, and that used by the Japanese, and by myself in my notes for Fu-so, are one and the same.

Ships from India traded in China seas, and even far-off Japan was visited by ships from distant climes. Indian priests reached those shores, and knowledge of the isles of the Far East was thus communicated to Western Asia, and even as far as Western Europe and to Africa.

From the ninth to the thirteenth century, Mussulman influences were dominant in the Eastern Archipelago, to the total extinction of all other. Ancient monuments were ruthlessly destroyed, and history, aye, even legends and folk-lore, seemed to have been eradicated, or given a purely Mahomedan form.

The East being closed to the Westerns, their energy was once more directed westward; voyages to Iceland and to Greenland became more frequent, and there can be little doubt that even the great continent North of America was reached earlier than nine centuries ago, else who were the builders of the Round Tower in Newport, Rhode Island?

Even if the Welshman, that Meredith ap Reece (the Cambrian bard of the fifteenth century), sang about, was not a fact, yet no doubt can exist that there must be some foundation for the numerous stories of very early voyages across the North Atlantic.

We now reach the dawn of a truly wonderful age of adventurous exploration.

Pope Innocent, following up the policy of his recent predecessors, boldly sent forth numerous brave and highly-cultured men, to once more extend the sway of the Church, in those far-off lands which had been, many centuries before, the scene of the labours of St. Thomas. The great Khan welcomed the visitors, nor was he the only great potentate of Asia, and Africa, who gladly received these messengers of peace, as they truly were in those days, before the time of the Spanish and Portuguese marauders.

Although the travels of the Polos are of this period, they were not the only great voyagers; it is because Marc during the monotony of imprisonment dictated his "Marvels," that we hear most of this family; not that I would in any way

detract from his great abilities, and wonderful opportunities, on the contrary, I look upon his book as a remarkable finger-post in history. Both before and after Polo's death in 1323, attention was once more prominently directed towards the far, far East. His meagre account of Japan merely stimulated curiosity; he called it *Zipangu* (from the *Yi pun kwo* of the Chinese, which mean *Yi-Sun*;—*pun*, root or source; *kwo*, country), or the Land of the Rising Sun.

Whilst the majority of those who heard his accounts did not give them credence, yet some there were who did more than merely credit them. Other details were gathered and compared. Yet strange to say, nearly two centuries passed by before the age of adventure can really be said to have reached its zenith. The history of this age is so well told by Mr. Major that I need but refer you to his works, and also to those of Colonel Yule, for a digest of most of the authentic material that has come down to us.

From the early part of the fourteenth century, the maritime nations of Western Europe essayed to extend their knowledge. The English were by no means prominent; they were struggling for the mastery of the narrow seas. The Spaniards were foremost, closely followed, often outdone, by the Portuguese; even the French were not idle. Tales of southern seas, old maps, showing the Dragon's Tail and Cape of Storms, were secretly produced, adventurers strove to organize expeditions, and obtain not only royal patronage, but also the means of providing vessels and outfits. The monk Nicholas of Oxford voyaged from Lynn to the far, far North; vague stories of the Antilles and the seven cities of the far West were current, as well as that of the horseman on the Azores, with outstretched arm pointing westward.

The chief cities of the various maritime states were visited in turn by enthusiasts and adventurers, trying to push wild schemes. Some were well informed, yet none the better credited by their hearers. Can it be wondered, when it became known that one court in particular gave welcome to all such as who had something to tell, that Prince Henry

would become the centre, around which all rallied, as Mr. Major has so ably narrated.

Not only Columbus, but also his relatives and companions, had travelled and toiled to gather every procurable scrap of knowledge, and we cannot doubt that much was known, that was not then or since acknowledged, for would not this completely destroy not only the glory, but also the national claim to first discovery ?

Sad to say, these early voyagers were invariably guilty of outrage upon the peoples they met, sowing broadcast the seed of the harvest of hatred and opposition that has since had to be contended with, even to our own day.

The invention of printing did not tend to make general geographical knowledge, it was too recent, and there was no public opinion to act as a salutary check on misdeeds. However, we find that within two generations a great continent and a far-spread ocean were explored, the existence of which between the seas to the westward of Europe and the far Eastern Cathay was not even suspected.

The rivalry between Spaniard and Portuguese, so long precluded from colliding to the injury of the Church, found fresh cause and opportunity when these two great rivals met on the eastern seas. The line arbitrarily drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores was moved still further west ; but already the terms East Indies for the Portuguese, and West Indies for the Spanish conquests, had taken root, for did they not think at first that the land they discovered to the westward was but the eastern extremity of the Indies and Cathay ? In 1513, in the month of September, Bilbao and Pizarro saw the great South Sea from the high land of the Isthmus of Darien, but in 1520, Magellan had rounded the Horn, and crossed the great Pacific ocean.

Meantime the Portuguese had rounded the Cape, carrying fire, sword, pillage, and outrage with them ; the Venetians meantime fighting the Arabs. In 1496, a Portuguese, who died was buried in the ruins of an ancient Christian church in Pegu ; and not many years passed before some of the most



enterprising found their way to Canton. In 1516 Rafael Perestrello reached the city and returned, the next year piloting an expedition back to the same place.

In 1517 George Marascenas fell in with some Lew Chew trading vessels, and thus, step by step, approached the long-desired land. Two or three short years only passed, when these plunderers and evil-doers earned the enmity of the natives, and massacre and expulsion were the results. Evil reports spread fast. The early arrival of numerous priests did not always control these turbulent spirits, or tend to counteract the ill-will they gained for all foreigners and Christians.

Japan was at the period much disturbed, by internal dissension ; the Ashikaga Shogunate was in a very unsatisfactory condition, tottering on the verge of misrule—and little attention was paid to the Europeans at first.

The reports of the evil doings of the new-comers in China reached Japan at a time when even the Chinese were unwelcome visitors. The continual embroilments of the Portuguese with the Chinese precluded much fresh enterprise towards Japan, and the hands of the settlers in India and China were more than full, with wars and complications amongst the native chieftains, and with their own immediate trading, or plundering, adventures.

Pinto claimed that when he landed in 1541 he was the first, and he is generally taken at his own word even now, but there were ships visiting Japan years before, and Portuguese reached Japan and Lew Chew even earlier.

Native annals recount the arrival in 1530 at an island off the south coast of Japan of a "Black Ship," so called to distinguish it from native vessels of those seas, which were not painted, and a present of firearms appears to have been given to Otomo Sorin, the Japanese head man of the island.

The arrival of Xavier, the pupil of Loyola, gave a great impetus to the propagation of Christianity in India, and the far East ; but this brilliant success, was, alas, but meteor-like ; internal dissension, religious and political strife, and

individual misconduct and ambition, caused a powerful reaction that finally resulted in the country being forcibly and securely closed to foreign intercourse, for more than two centuries. Up to our own times this policy of exclusiveness was rigidly preserved, and well maintained, as many still living can testify.

We thus see that after centuries of search, when the great end was attained, it faded into insignificance, in consequence of the vastness and wealth of the regions opened up in the search for the long-sought Cathay ; the "distance that had lent enchantment to the view" having been overcome, the nearer view was less promising, and when the illusion was dispelled the greedy and turbulent adventurers sought fresh and more profitable fields, leaving trouble, hatred, and the seeds of endless complication behind for future generations to combat with.

In the study of the history of those far-off lands, and of the adventures of the early voyagers, our public men and diplomatists might read valuable lessons ; but here at home the apathy about far-off peoples is so great, that it is most difficult to arouse the slightest attention, even when vast national interests are at stake, aye, even the national prestige and honour.

Those who seek a future career in these far-off countries, would do well to inform themselves as to these matters, for the time has come when we no longer hold the monopoly of foreign conquest, and of foreign trade. We find able and active competitors in all foreign countries, in our own colonies and possessions even. We must learn that the world was not made for the English solely ; and throwing off the mantle of our insular egotism and narrow prejudice, acknowledge that victory is for those who fight best ; and that none but the brave deserve the fair, none but the honest, industrious, and thrifty will reap reward in these far-off lands ; that there is no royal road to wealth there any more than in old England.

## APPENDIX.

List of a few of the Authors that have been examined, and of the works wherein the inquirer may find some further particulars.

"A Compleat Historie of Spanish America" (old and rare).

Adams, A., Collection.

Ainsworth, "Round the World."

Albuquerque's "Life," &c.

Astley's Collection.

Ballantyne's "Adventures."

Bechlanger's "Formosa."

Beniowsky (Count), "Travels."

Buckley, "Discoveries."

Burney's "Chronology."

Carre (Leon), "Ancient China."

Campbell's "Lives of the Admirals."

Cooley's "History of Maritime Discovery."

"Cyrus, Travels of."

D'Almeida's "Java."

Dalrymple's Collection.

Day's "Cochin China."

De Quincey's "China."

Dickson's "Japan."

Diego de Ceuta's "Mexico."

Dryden's "Xavier."

Eden (Robert), 1555. Early Collection.

Earl's "Eastern Seas."

Framp'on's "Polo" (1579).

Frobisher's "Collection of Voyages."

Galvano's Works.

Gurney's Works.

Grimstore, "History of West Indies."

Hakluyt Collection.

Hall's "Voyages."

Harri's "Collection of Voyages."

Heerin's "History of Trade."

Help's "Pizzaro and Columbus."

Kæmpfer's Works.

- Laurent's "Ancient Geography."  
 Leake's "Disputed Questions," &c.  
 Lediart's "Naval History."  
 Leland's "Fu-sang."  
 Lindsay's "History of British Shipping."  
 Ljungsted's (Baron) "History of Portuguese Settlements in China" (Boston, 1836).  
 Major's (R. H.) "Life of Dom Henry," &c.  
 Mayer's "Treaty Ports."  
 Monson's "Naval Tracts."  
 Ousley, Sir Wm.  
 Perry, Commodore, "Expedition to Japan."  
 Purchas Collection.  
 Pinkerton Collection.  
 Prime's "Travels."  
 Raffles' (Sir Stamford), "Java."  
 Raleigh's (Sir Walter) "History of the World."  
 Rennell's "Geographical System of Herodotus."  
 Robinson's "Western Discoveries."  
 „ Wheaton's "History of Norsemen."  
 Ross's "History of Corea."  
 "Recueil des Voyages."  
 "Romance of Travel."  
 Rundall's Collection.  
 Schertzer's "Austrian Expedition, Novara," &c.  
 Smith's (Dr. Geo.) "Hist. Cassi.: Commerce of Western Europe," &c.  
 Swinhoe's "Formosa."  
 Tavernier's Works.  
 Torrens's "Asia."  
 Tytler's "Progress of Discovery."  
 Webbe's "Travailes" (1590).  
 Williams' "Discoveries."  
 Wolff's Works.  
 Yule's (Colonel) "Cathay and the Way Thither."  
 „ „ "Marc Polo's History."  
 &c., &c., &c.



## NOTES FROM THE PENRITH REGISTERS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD KING, B.A., F.S.A. SCOT., F.R. HIST. SOC.

*(Read before the Royal Historical Society, July 21, 1881.)*

AT the present time, when the Parochial Registers of this country are attracting more than usual notice, I think the following excerpts from the first volume of those of the Parish of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, may not be uninteresting.

This book is a thick, small folio of parchment, in its original calf binding.

The first leaf contains a few odd memoranda, which are not without interest :—

“ Liber Registerii de penrith  
scr<sup>pt</sup>us in anno dni. 1599  
Anno Regni Regine Elizabethe 41.”  
“ Ppr nots worth keeping is  
foloweth y<sup>t</sup>  
fflodon feild was in anno dni 1535.  
Comotion\* in these north parts 1536.  
St. George’s daye dyd fall on Good Fridaye 15.  
Quene Elizabeth begone her rainge 1558.  
Plaue was in Penreth & Kendall 1554.  
Sollome Mose† was in the yere 1542.  
Rebellion‡ in the North ptes by the two Earles  
of Northumberland & Westmorland & leonard  
Dacres in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> lord god 1569 & the  
. . . . daye of Nouember.  
A sore plague was in london Notingham  
Derbie & lincolne in the yere 1593.

\* “The Pilgrimage of Grace.” † The battle of Solway Moss. ‡ The conspiracy to release Mary Queen of Scots and restore her to the Scottish throne.

A sore plague in new castell, darrome and  
Deinton in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> lord god 1597.

A sore plague in Richmond Kendall penreth  
Karliell Adpulbie & other places in Wes-  
morland & Cumberland in the yere of o<sup>r</sup>  
lord god 1598 of this plague ther dyed  
at Kendall 2250 & . . . at Adpulbie  
(150?) & at Richmond . . . 66 . . .  
. . . at Carliell . . .”

These notes are rather illegible in some few places and quite so in others. After these we come to the beginning of the Register proper, which is a copy of an older book:—

“A trew coppye of the Register booke of penreth, of all  
Christenings, Mariages, and Buridles beginnige in the  
yere of our lord 1556 writ en parchment by me Willm  
Walleis Vicarius quondā.”

From this it would appear that the Register Book then in use was in a dilapidated condition, and that the present generation owes a debt of gratitude to the said Wm. Walleis. This “coppie” was probably made in 1601. Walleis succeeded to the Vicarage some twenty-six years before this, as we find recorded:—

“1575—Sir William Walleis, clerk, collated.”

After being a quarter of a century Vicar he resigned in 1601 on his preferment to the Vicarage of Thursby, and was succeeded by “John Hastie, M.A.” Walleis seems to have been the last Vicar of Penrith who used the prefix of “Sir;” which appears to have been, till that time, the title of all priests, whether Parish or Chantry. Examples of both appear in two entries, in 1558 and 1565, as will be seen further on.

In 1557 occurs this note, “inserted in the month off Maye 30 daye”—

“Nota. Memorandu that in the old Register booke here lacked one leafe wher the fyve next monethes were sett downe, viz June Julye August September October & a part

of November & here it beginneth againe The 12 d·ye”  
(November).

Fortunately this leaf with its five months’ record was not destined to be altogether lost, for after December 27th in the same year is :—

“Wher this word Note standeth on they left hand this  
leafe was lost and found againe as foloweth June the second.”

This loss and unexpected recovery seems to have caused some little confusion ; therefore, after November 7, 1557, comes the following very lucid direction ;—

“Now yowe must beginne at Nouember in the leafe before  
was 16 written Nota.”

However, things begin to run more smoothly, as far as the Register itself is concerned. As to other matters, we shall find them aught but smooth as we proceed :—

“1558. Maye the 3 daye SrWillm fashead, or fathead,  
priest buried.”

He was probably one of the Fassetts or Fawcetts of North-umberland. He was not vicar, Sir Thomas Ellerton being vicar at that date. He may have been priest to the chantry, which had been done away eleven years before, or else belonged to the small Augustine monastery there. Fifteen years later is recorded the burial of the above-named vicar :—

“1565 October the 7 daye was Sr Thomas Ellerton Vicar  
buried.”

We find nothing worthy of notice for the next few years, except perhaps :—

“1597. Elizabethe 39.

June the 15 daye a poor man and a wench unknown buried.”

“Julie the same night (14<sup>th</sup>) Mr. Gerratt Lowther Esquire  
buried in the south Church doore.”

This was probably Gerrard Lowther, fourth son of Sir Richard Lowther, of Lowther, and Frances Middleton, his wife. He was Chief Justice of Common Pleas in Ireland in Elizabeth’s reign, and though twice married, died without

issue. There is no monument or stone of any kind to his memory.

Of the same date is a mysterious entry, and rather exciting to one's curiosity :—

“Julie the same night (14<sup>th</sup>) dyed a Scottish [gentleman?] at the Crowne, who was bowelled & his corps carried to Scotland.”

Who this nameless person was, who died at the “Old Crowne Inn,” it is now impossible to tell. There might have been some special reason for concealing his name. Had he not been a person of some consequence it would hardly have been thought worth while either to subject his corpse to this operation, or to have carried him into Scotland for burial.

We now come to that dreadful scourge, *the Plague* of 1597-8, and in the entry of the burial of its first victim we find the origin of its introduction to the town :—

“Anno dni 1597 Anno Regine Eliz<sup>b</sup>. 39 & Sept the 22 daye Andrew Hodgson a straing<sup>r</sup> buried. Here begonne the plague, (God's punishmēt) in pe<sup>r</sup>eth.”

This seems to have been the second visitation within fifty-four years. There had also been an earlier one in 1380. When the inhabitants found the plague amongst them they seem at first to have buried its victims in the churchyard, but after a time, either for sanitary reasons, or because the churchyard was not large enough, they buried on the Fell, immediately below the Beacon, as we learn from this note :—

“All those that are noted with this lēr [letter] p dyed of the infection and those noted with f were buried on to the fell.”

Walker, in his “History of Penrith,” under the head of “The Plague,” says :—

“Its progress was gradual, from the autumn in which it appeared to the month of April following. During this period marriages and christenings took place in the usual ratio. \* \* \* But on the 29th of May no less than thirteen deaths are recorded.”



The number on that day is in reality only six. At page 55 he says, "Not a solitary marriage is recorded for the whole summer;" whereas there were seven marriages entered between May and October—not a bad number, considering the then population.

Though only eighteen miles distant, the plague seems not to have reached Carlisle till eleven days later than it appeared in Penrith. After the entry of burials on "October the 3<sup>rd</sup> daye," we read:—

"The same day begone the plague in Carliele."

There is some considerable disagreement in the different statements as to the number of deaths from the plague, during this time, in Penrith. Walker says, no doubt quoting Lysons, "the names of 583 only are entered on the register." I made the number 616, which would be considerably more than one-third of the then population. There is an old red sandstone slab in the north chancel aisle with this inscription, executed shortly after the visitation:—

"A.D. M.DXCVIII.

Ex gravi peste, quae regionibus hisce incubuit, obierunt apud:—

Penrith	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,260
Kendall	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,500
Richmond	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,200
Carlisle	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,196

Posteris

Avertite vos et vivite.—Ezek. xviii. 32."

These numbers refer, no doubt, to the deaths in those *districts*, and not merely to the towns themselves. This inscription was, at a later date, probably at the rebuilding of the church, engraved on a brass plate and affixed to the wall.

The entries in the Parish Registers comprise both high and low, rich and poor. Among the former are members of the families of the gentry in the town, the vicar's wife being of the number; amongst the latter is a very simple and touching one:—

“A poor boy unknown who was buried on to the fell.”

However, there is a morning to the longest and darkest night, and the Plague was no exception, as the next extract I have will show :—

“1598 January 5 daye  
Here ended the Visitaçon.”

No doubt it was with a thankful heart that the wearied and overworked vicar, William Walleis, penned these words; but a pardonable regret marred the grateful joy with which they would otherwise have been recorded. Now that those weary months of extraordinary physical exertion and mental strain were over, he would have time to realize the loss which he himself has sustained in the death of her who had helped and cheered him in his anxious ministrations amongst the dying and the dead, and who probably had fallen a victim to that dreadful disease in her zeal for her Master's work and her fellow-creatures' good.

We now pass on to more stirring times, when, all fear of the Plague having passed away, their Scottish neighbours recommenced their unwelcome visits :—

“Anno dni 1600. Anno Regni  
Regine Elizabethe 43.

Januarie the 19 daye at night was hetherigtō of Woolakes his horses stolen and his houses spoiled by theiftes.”

“The 27 daye a Jayle deliverie at Carliell wher 7 p̄soners condemned wher of four were executet at herrebie, viz. Ebbes Arch & Archie Armstrone als Wiskrills Scotts mē, and one Burthome & one Nicholson, & three saved by the booke.”

These three who received “benefit of clergy” do not appear to have profited in any other way by their education. Nor does the capital punishment of the others seem to have had any wholesome effect upon their fellows, for on—

“Februrie the 5<sup>te</sup> daye at night one Robinson of Raithbeck, above Shapp was robed & had his house broken.”

And now the scene changes, and we are carried away from Border raids "o'er moss and fell" to the great London world, and have a little insight of the doings there. But we do not find the nobility and others of the Court of Queen Bess much more orderly than the Border raiders. At least they had less excuse for plotting the unlawful seizing and deposing of the vain and miserable creature Elizabeth than the Scots had for driving off a few head of cattle or reaping their Southern neighbours' corn, for them:—

"1600 Februrie the 15 daye. This tyme great sture in London amongst the Nobilitie at a sermon in Poules [St. Paul's] where some were slaine & some straynglie eskaped & others of the nobilitie sent for in hast to london, the chief doers were the Earle of Essex, the Earle of Southampton & the Earle of Rutland & others."

The following is of a more ordinary nature:—

"The same daye [Feb. 15, 1600] about two off the cloke at the far end of plumton wall in Bowmā gill was one James Atkinson of Killington a carrier in coming from Carliell robed of three carriage horses & vij<sup>lb</sup>. in monye."

Further particulars having arrived as to the rash conspiracy of the Earls of Essex, Southampton, and Rutland, &c., which ended so miserably for the chief conspirator, Essex, and some of his associates, they are duly transferred to the pages of the Register. The entry gives the names of the principal among them, and the prisons to which they were consigned. Though these particulars are neither of much interest nor importance, I put them down here, as I do not know that they are to be found in any history:—

"The names of the laitt honorable cōspirators & others executed at London viz. the 25 day of februarie the Earles of Essex & Southamton the Earle of Rutland the sherife of London called Thomas Smith the lord Sondes the Lord Monteagle the lord Crumwell S<sup>r</sup> Xtofer Blunt S<sup>r</sup> Charles Davers in the Tower: S<sup>r</sup> Charles Pearcie S<sup>r</sup> Joselyn

Pearcie Gray Bridges S<sup>r</sup> Edward\* littleton S<sup>r</sup> Edward Baineham S<sup>r</sup> Henrie Carie Christopher Donington henrie Caife secretar to the Earle of Essex in the fleatt : S<sup>r</sup> John Davies S<sup>r</sup> Gillie Merrick Ffrances Threshame in Ludgaite ; Thomas Medley in ledgait, S<sup>r</sup> ferdinando Gorges S<sup>r</sup> Robert Verney Willm Englefield Willm Temple secrēt to the Earle of Essex Charles Ogle in ludgait. Frances Merrick S<sup>r</sup> Will Constable Ffrances Smyth Willm Sparl Ambrose Rendell Ffrances . . . Edmond hen . . . Edward hare Richard Chumilie Anthonie Rouse John Arderne Capetain Owen Salusbury Sr John Tracie In the compter in poutrie John Tomps† Ffrances Lenester Thomas Con-dall Thomas Trippon Peter Riddell Willm Grenall Willm Crewe John Moris John Vernon Rob<sup>t</sup> Do-her Ffrances Pedre a strainger John Limerick Gregorie Sheffield John Rob<sup>r</sup>tes in the poutrie. S<sup>r</sup> Thomas West S<sup>r</sup> Robert Catesbie John littleton Stev Man John Foster Willm Parkynges Bryan Dawson Thomas Crompton George Orrde Elles Jode John ffloyd Symō Jos strainger, Rich herferd in Wood Street Counter & in the Marshalsie . . . Edward Busshell Rob<sup>t</sup> Gosnel Captaine burke Chaplaine Whietlock in the Whiet lyon. Xpfer Wright John Grant John Wright Willm Isebroke in the Kinges bynshe, Peter hailes Capt Robrt Dullingham Earle of Essex prisoners at S<sup>r</sup> John Stainhopes the Earle of bedforth psoners at S<sup>r</sup> John Grayes S<sup>r</sup> Edward Michell borne under suerties, Ladie Ritch at Mr S. . . . S<sup>r</sup> Henrie lenlie in the gaithouse, S<sup>r</sup> Xpofer heydon & John heydon not taken, the said Earle of Essex was beheaded in the towere of London on Weddensday the first daye of lent beinge the xxv<sup>te</sup> of feburarie.”

Such was the result of the machinations of these men for setting James VI. of Scotland on the English throne. There seems to be some confusion in this account as to who were executed, and who simply imprisoned. Hume ‡ says :—“ Some of Essex’s associates, Cuffe, Davers, Blount, Merick, and Davies, were tried and condemned ; and all of these,

\* Sir John Littleton.

† Tompson ?

‡ History of England.



except Davies, were executed. The Queen pardoned the rest. . . . Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty ; but he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign."

A note to "The Egerton Papers" (Camden Society) says that Sir Gilly Merick, the Earl of Essex's steward, and Henry Cuffe, Essex's secretary, were beheaded on Tower Hill, March 13th; and Sir C. Danvers, or Davers, and Sir Christopher Blount at the same place on the 18th of the same month."

In the following month was observed a public thanksgiving for the Queen's escape from this plot, thus recorded in the Register :—

"March. The 15 daye being the third Sondaye in Lent dyd Mr Wallwood prch here, his text was the 1 verse of the 8 chapter of the first of Samuell, a thanksgev<sup>n</sup> for the quenes Deliverance & an offering to the poore here was xii<sup>s</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>."

The text is—"It came to pass, when Samuel was old, that he made his sons judges over Israel." This seems to be rather a satirical subject for the preacher to choose on such an occasion—a quiet hint to Elizabeth to abdicate.

At this time the Scots pay their neighbours another visit—

"1600. March 18 daye

The night last was Branton & Gillisland spoiled by Scotts theifes & ther goods taken with p'soners."

"This tyme was great spoiling & Robing in this countrie especially in Cumberland burning in Gillisland & other places."

I do not know whether there was any special service on the 23rd of this month, but I find that—

"The same daye dyd Mr Denton vicar of Lazenbie p'rch here his text was the 15<sup>te</sup> verse of 5 chapter to the Ephesians, taik [heed] that yowe walke circūspectlie."

The Scotch seem to have been very restless about this time, and evidently caused the Penrithians no small trouble and anxiety ; for instance :—

"1601. Anno Regni Regine Elizabethe 43—March. The 23 daye at night was Richard Wood of plumton spoiled by theifes & he taken p'soner into Scotland."

"This tyme such watching in penreth on the night as was not a hundreth yeres before, fiftie watchers neightlie."

"The same daye [March 29] was Corbie spoiled by the borderers & one Georg Salkeld killed by them."

Corby, now the seat of the Howards of Corby, was formerly the possession of the Salkelds of Corbie. Sandford, in his MS. c. 1670, says: "The last Thomas Salkeld sold Corby to the Lord William Howard, third son of Thomas the great Duke of Norfolk, great-grandfather to the now Earl of Carlisle, and grandfather of the now brave Monsignor Francis Howard, a great house-keeper and horse-courser, and in all jovial gallantries expert, and beloved of all men, and Lord of Corby Castle his mansion house, and has many towns adjacent, and estate of £2,000 per annum, and his mother sister to the late Lord Widdington, and his wife daughter to one of the famous families of Gerard in Lancashire."

"April the 3 daye was the town dyke at the over-ende of Penreth newlie casten againne by the townes men for the defence of the towne & invasion of the borderers whoe doe threat the saime."

This dyke, or stone wall, which had to be "newlie casten" (*i.e.* rebuilt) was the wall at what is now called "The Townhend," which is the north side of the town towards Carlisle and the Border.

"The 5 [April, 1601] Sondaye daye dyd Mr Doctor Robinson p̄rch here his text was 36 verse of the 26<sup>te</sup> of S<sup>t</sup> Mathew."

On the following morning the writer of the Register seems not to have been in a very calm temper, for he makes use of rather strong language in describing his Border neighbours:—

"The 5 daye at night was Casel Carrock [Castle Carrick] spoiled by the incurceate of piritts borderers thieves murtherers."

At this time Wm. Walleis, vicar, mentioned above, succeeds to the living of Thursby :—

“1601. Aprill 24. The same [day] de<sup>th</sup> Willm Walleis, who was vicar of Penreth about xxvi years last to the vicarage of Thursbie, west of Carliell.”

He must have had rather an exciting vicariate during the period he held the living—nearly twenty-six years. He does not seem to have troubled his parishioners with many sermons, for, according to Dr. Todd, “he preached only once a quarter and on the great Festival of the Church.”

They do not seem to have been so long, in those days, in filling up clerical vacancies, or in entering upon them either, as is now too often the case ; for four days after Walleis' departure his successor takes possession, thus noted :—

“John Hastie M<sup>r</sup> of Arts was indutted vicar of penrith April 28, 1601, in the p<sup>r</sup>sence of Mr Anthony Page, steward, and Mr Thomas Atkinson w<sup>th</sup> many others.”

He appears to have been hasty by nature as well as by name, but nevertheless a business-like man, for he at once sets about taking an inventory of the contents of the Vicarage-house. This was not such a serious undertaking as might be supposed ; therefore I will venture to give it *in extenso*, as it follows immediately after the last extract :—

“At which time I found in the vicareadge these heirlooms as followeth—

Imp<sup>r</sup>mis a brass pott, an old cupbord, one table, one form, a brewing lead and . . . . [illegible]. In witness wherof we whose name are under written give to it our hande.”

This important document seems to have been forgotten, as no names are appended. Whether he received dilapidations for the “old cupbord” does not appear, but it is to be hoped he had as regards the “brewing lead,” for a note informs us, and that twice over :—

“The brewing lead was all cut in pieces by the Scots to make bullets of.”

Taking the Vicar's lead to shoot his parishioners with was a decided case of "adding insult to injury."

There is no one who has a greater regard for local traditions than myself, and one is always sorry to hear of their being exploded, and still more so when it is one's own hand which applies the match; but in one of the windows in the south aisle of Penrith Church are some remains of old stained glass, with the heads of a man in armour and his lady, with a scroll from her mouth with—

**" Mater Dei miserere mei."**

The local tradition is that they represent Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (1415-1460), and Lady Cecily Neville, his wife, the parents of Edward IV. and Richard III., and Jefferson, in his "History of the Leath Ward" (p. 53), says, speaking of these same fragments of glass: "Among them are portraits of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and Cecily Nevile, his wife, daughter of Ralph Nevile, Earl of Westmoreland. These are the only original portraits of those personages now extant." No doubt the author was perfectly right when he assumes that there are no *other* portraits of those illustrious personages now extant, but quite wrong in supposing that they really represent them, or were ever intended to do so. All the other stained glass in the church was destroyed, whilst this was preserved, and *why*? The next extract I shall give will show, I think, *why* this window was preserved, and *who* these figures really represent.

Under July, 1637, we find the following:—

"Julie, the 10 day Anthonie Hutton Esquire buried."

This was one of the old family of Hutton, of Hutton Hall in Penrith, of which family was Sir Richard Hutton, Judge of Common Pleas. After this entry immediately follows:—

**"To all Christian** people to whom theise presents shall come S<sup>r</sup> John Haisty M<sup>r</sup> of Arts and viccar of Penrith in the County of Cumberland, Thomas Becke Thomas Railton Lancelot Smith and John Readman Church Wardens of the p<sup>sh</sup> of Penrith beforesaid send greeting in our Lord God everlasting. **Witness** S<sup>r</sup> William Hutton



Knight, and Anthony Hutton Esqr. sonne and heire male of the said S<sup>r</sup> William Hutton Knight, both deceased, and their auncestors have without memory of man used occupied & enjoyed several auncient seates and pewes for theiresselves, their wives gentlemen and servants to sitt and kneele in at their dev̄cions in the tyme of Divyne Seruice and sermon, in theire said parish church of Penreth, in a place there called S<sup>t</sup> Andrewes quire, as appertenaunt and belonging to theire capitall messuage in Penreth. And have likewise by the like tyme (wherof the memory of man is not to the contrary) used to bury the deade corps of auncestors wives and children of the Huttons in Penreth in the Prime place in the said quire, peculiarly by themselves, where the said S<sup>r</sup> William Hutton and Anthony Hutton Esq<sup>r</sup> lye alsoe buried. In which quire there *is yet remaineing in a window an auncestor of the said house pictured in his armo<sup>r</sup>, and his wife by him,* and the arms of the Huttons beside them, which have been and continued without memory in the said windowe, all w<sup>ch</sup> doth appeare unto us by Auncient Wills and Evedences shewed unto us, whereunto we referr o<sup>r</sup>selves. **And** for as much as Elizabeth\* Hutton wid<sup>w</sup> late wife of the said Anthony Hutton Esqr. (whose mother the Lady Marie Lowther lived and dyed w<sup>th</sup> the said Anthony Hutton Esqr and Elizabeth his wife, alsoe lyeth buried in the said quire) **Wath** freely and voluntarily, forth of her godly disposicion and zeall to the Church, given and bestowed the some of Tenn pounds, lawful English money, unto us the Viccar and Church wardens of Penreth To be employed as a peculiar stocke, by us and o<sup>r</sup> successors. And the encrease thereof to be used for the perpetual reparacion of the said quire called S<sup>t</sup> Andrews quire (where her late deare husband and mother lye buried) and not otherwise. **And** for that she the said Elizabeth Hutton (to expresse her love for her said late husband) doth intend to erect and set up a Tomb in the said quire (in a place formerly intended for such like purpose) representinge the persons of the said Mr Hutton and herselfe, beinge almost ready finished for setting up. **Now knowe** ye that we the Viccar and Church wardens have had and received the day of the date hereof at the hand of the said Elizabeth Hutton wid<sup>w</sup> the said some of Tenn pounds lawful English money **which** said some of Tenn pounds we the said Viccar and Church wardens doe for us and o<sup>r</sup> successors Viccars and Church wardens of Penreth covenant promise and graunt to and with the

\* Elizabeth, dau. of Robert Burdett, of Bramscote, co. Warwick.

said Elizabeth Hutton her executors and administrators shalbe put forward for the good and benefit of the said quire, called S<sup>t</sup> Andrew's quire ; and the encrease thereof to be only used and employed for the repa<sup>r</sup>ation of the said quire when occasion requires, and not otherwise. And that the same shalbe still for ever hereafter kept and Distinguished from the rest of the Church Stocke as a peculiar stocke for repaire of the said quire. And that the said quire shalbe from tyme to tyme for ever hereafter repaired and mayntayned soe often as need shall require for keeping dry the said seates pewes buryinge place and Tombes. **And** we the said Viccar and Churchwardens for the consideracons before saide doe by theise presentes (soe far as in us lye) for us and our successors for ever hereafter discharge and acquit the said Elizabeth Hutton, and alsoe the heires owners and occupiers of the said Auncient Capitall Messuage in Penreth wherein the said Mrs. Hutton now dwelleth from the payment of any money or other duties which shalbe hereafter demanded either for reparacion of the said quire, or otherwise in respect of the same.

**In witness wherof** we have here unto sett our hands and seales the eleventh day of April, In the fourteenth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles by the Grace of God of England Scotland Ffrance and Ireland kinge defender of the faith q<sup>r</sup> busque domi 1638.

JO. HASTIE,  
*Vicarius.*

THOMAS BECKE  
THOS. RAILTON  
LANCELO SMYTH  
JOHN READMAN

} *Churchwardens."*

These "portraits" then sink down from Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and Lady Cecily Nevile, to Thomas Hutton and Helen his wife, though doubtless equally worthy people.

This is borne out by Richard St. George, Norry King of Arms, in his Visitation, 1615, where he says :—

"Thomas de Huton and Helen his lady lye entombed under the Higher south windowe of S<sup>t</sup> Andrew's Quire in Penrith, their effigies painted in the windowe with the inscription—*Orate pro aniabus Thome Huton et Elene uxoris ejus.*"

Bishop Nicholson (1702-18) mentions them as being there at the time of his Visitation.

Doubtless the reason of these figures being spared, when all the other stained glass nearly was destroyed, was that they might witness, as a kind of title-deed, to the Huttons' property in the said "St Andrews quire."

The tomb to Anthony Hutton, however, which was "almost ready finished for setting up," seems by Bishop Nicholson's account to have consisted of two recumbent figures in "plaster of Paris." Probably owing to the perishable nature of the material of which they were composed, they might have been accidentally broken when the church was rebuilt, 1720-2, or else not considered worth preserving, for there are no remains of them left.

Jefferson, in his "History of the Leath Ward," gives the inscription which was on this monument. Anthony Hutton was the eldest son of Sir Wm. Hutton, of Hutton Hall, in Penrith, Knt. (who married first Jane, daughter of Richard Vaux, of Cutterlen, by whom he had two sons, Thomas and William, who both died in their father's lifetime without male issue), by his second wife, Dorothy Benson. He succeeded to Hutton Hall on the death of his father. He was a Counsellor at Law and a Master in Chancery. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Burdett, of Bramscourt, co. Warwick, by whom he had no issue. Dying July 10, 1637, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Edward Hutton. The first of this family in Penrith of whom we have notice was Adam de Hutton, *temp.* Edward I.

The next extract I shall give carries us back nearly three hundred years, viz., to 37th Edward III. During this reign the Scots, instigated by the French King, determined to revenge themselves on Edward, and made repeated raids over the Border, laying waste the whole district. In one of these incursions, in the 19th year of his reign, it is said that 30,000 (?) Scots pillaged Penrith, burnt it to the ground, and carried off the wives and daughters captive to Scotland. But

the Scots seem not to have been their only enemies. For, like the Egyptians of old, when what the hail had left the locusts ate, the Penrithians found that what crops the Scots did not carry off the "wild beasts," deer and wild boars of Inglewood Forest, devoured or destroyed. In consequence of this the inhabitants of Penrith, Salkeld, and Castle Sowerby seem to have petitioned the King, declaring their inability to pay their "great farm." On this the King granted them a charter of common pasture for all their cattle in the forest of Inglewood.

This document, being an important one, on being found amongst the effects of a Mr. Robinson, is transcribed in the Register :—

"A copie of certaine leſſs patent found [amongst the papers?] of Anthonie Robinson of Penreth & registered in this booke for saiftie as a good record

Edwards tertius dei grā rex Anglie Dns hibernie et Aquitan, omnib; ad quos p'sentes he p'ven'int sltīm. Supplicaverunt nobis hōies et tenentes man'iorū de Penreth Salkeld et Sourbie, que sunt ex antiquo dño corone nře infra forestam nřam de Ingilwoode habitantes, p<sup>r</sup> petiōem suam corā nobis et concilio nřo in p'senti p'lamento nřo exhibitum Ut cu' ipi pro eo quod terre et tenementa sua p<sup>r</sup> quib; magna farmā nobis solvere tenent<sup>s</sup> p<sup>r</sup> inimicos nřos scocie ac blada sua in terris suis ibm crescentia p<sup>r</sup> feras nřas foresti p'di sepius destruunt<sup>r</sup> et vastant<sup>r</sup> ut farmā suā p'dictam nobis solvere non possunt nisi alias subveniātr eisde. Volums in auxiliū farme sue p'dicte concedere q<sup>d</sup> ipsi coūnā pasturā ad oīa animalia in foresta p'dicta habere valeant sibi et heredib; suis in p'petua. Nos consideratione p'missorū, et pro eo q<sup>d</sup> corū nobis in eodē p'liamento testificatus existet p'missa veritate continere, volentes eisde hominib; & tenentib; gratiā facere specialem, concessimus eis p' nobis et heredib; nřis, quod ipi et heredes sui habeant & teneant coūnā pasturā ad oīa animalia in fforesta p'dicta in p'petū p'ut p'or Karlioli & Willē Englisshe ac alij tenentes, infra fforesta p'dicta comunā pasturā ibm habeat ex concessione nřa et pgenitorū n'rorū



sine occasione et impedimento nra vel heredū nrom justics forestioru viridarioū regardatorū et aliorū balivorū et ministrorū n'rorū foreste quor' cūque. In cuius rei testimoniū, has lirās fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westm<sup>r</sup> vicesimo sexto die mensis Octobris anno regni nri tricesimo septimo. Anno dñi 1363.

"Scripts p<sup>r</sup> me Willm Walleis Vicariū de Penreth et concordans in originale, p."

We now come back to parish affairs :—

"1657. June the 6<sup>th</sup> John Braythat Householder who was shot coming from Carliel by Robbers, was buried."

On the last few leaves of this volume of the Registers we have a miscellaneous collection of records, excommunications, &c.

"Upon Sondag the 16<sup>te</sup> day of May 1669 these whose names is under written were denounced exco<sup>m</sup>

Thomā Langhorne Aliciam ejus uxōr Robertū Wilson Annam ejus uxōr Thomam henderson Johannem Washington Johānem Milner Margareī ejus uxōr. Willmū Cookson Henr Cookson Jacobum Collison Margaret ejus uxōr Tho: Midilleton Mariam ejus uxōr. Edwardū Dauison Johanā Hewetson Robertū Dawson Geo: Cooke Robertū Benson Ellinorem ejus uxōr. Annam Roper Elnathan Smith Ffrancescū Edwardū Dauison Tho: Carleton uxōr ejus Mariam Kille Margaret Nanson Mariam Dauison et Annam Raca" (?)

Again :—

"Upon Souday the 20<sup>te</sup> of June 1669."  
these were cited :—

"Tho: Langhorne mercator  
Jo: Washington  
Rob<sup>t</sup>: Wilson  
Tho: Henderson  
Tho: Middleton  
John Holme  
Wm Cookson

George Cook  
 Robert Benson  
 Jo : Hewetson  
 Jacobum Tayler."

With the exception of James Taylor they had all been excommunicated the previous month. Some of them seem to have continued contumacious, for—

"Upon Sunday y<sup>e</sup> 19 day of June 1681 these whose names are subscribed were cited to appear before the Chancellor—

James Collinson and Margaret his wife, Thomas Middleton; John Holme, miller and Elizabeth his wife; Richard Holme miller and Ann his wife; Robert Benson and Hellen his wife; Anne the wife of Thomas Robinson; — Redhead widdow, John Hewetson and — his wife Quakers, & Georg Cock:

Richard Heskett & — his wife, Jane Carleton wid:  
 & Mary the wife of John Dauison—Papists

"Non Conformists.

"Thomas Langhorne & — his wife;  
 Robert Wilson and Anne his wife;  
 John Washington; Miles Corney;  
 William Cookson and Alice his wife  
 Thomas Towers & Elizabeth his wife  
 John Nelson Baker."

"Matthew Hodshion & John Thompson jun<sup>r</sup> formerly excoṃmunicate."

"Oliver Whitehead was denounced excoṃmunicate Oct:  
 y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1681."

"Upon Sunday July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1682 all the fornamed persons who were living were denounced excoṃmunicate."

Some seem to have come to a better mind, for—

"Januy 4<sup>th</sup> 1682 Thomas Langhorne, Rob<sup>t</sup> Wilson & Anne his wife John Washington and Miles Corney were absolved.

Jan 5 1682 William Cookson and Alice his wife were absolved.

Feby 27 1682 Thomas Towers & Elizabeth his wife & John Nelson baker were absolved.

April 15<sup>th</sup> 1683 All these persons who had been Absolved, were declared to be so, & their Relaxation from the sentence of excommunication by the L<sup>d</sup> Bp of Carlile under the seale of the office was published

By me

John Child, Vicar."

The episcopal clemency extended to these oft-offending persons seems only to have hardened them, for they were denounced again on February 29th, 1683, July 22nd, 1683, and again on August 3rd, 1684.

John Child, the Vicar, though very active in denouncing excommunications, seems nevertheless to have been a kindly sort of man, for he puts himself to some trouble in getting "the king's touch" for an afflicted parishioner.

"Memorandum that I scertified for Isaac Threlkeld to get the King's touch, under my hand and seal, the 25th of Aprill. Anno Regis Jacobi Secundi, Tertio; Annoque Domi 1687."

After this comes—

"A copy of the statute for suppressing of Rouges Vagabunds and sturdie beggars—' Be it enacted y<sup>t</sup> all psons aboue seaven yeirs of age going about begging,  
. . . &c."

Again we have—

"A Register of rouges and sturdy beggars taken wandering contrarie to Statute in that case pvided and punished by the constable of Penrith since Nov<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>te</sup> 1608.

" Nov<sup>r</sup>. the 27<sup>t</sup> day Matthew Holiday 1608." Etc., etc.

This "Register" extends to July 31, 1616, and I find that during that time only fourteen persons were punished or else removed to their own parish.

The last leaf of this volume contains a list of fees, and several collections made for churches or private persons on *brief*:—

"An abstract or breuiat of all fees and other deutes wh. ordinarilie have been usuallie received by the Chauncellors Registers & p̄ctors Clerkes & Actuaries & apparators of the Concestrie Court of Carlisle collected & gathered by henrie dethick bachelor of the lawes, Chauncellor of the dyese of Carliell in ano dni 1598 Anno Regni Regine Elizabethē et i quadragesimo, by the report of the said sevall all officers.

"Im̄pmis for the p'bacion of everie Will where goodes excede v<sup>lb</sup>. to the judge ij<sup>s</sup>. vj<sup>d</sup>, waxe ij<sup>d</sup>, Register xij<sup>d</sup>.

It <sup>m</sup> for p'bacion of everie Will the	Judici.	Registeri.
goodes not exceeding xi <sup>lbs</sup> . ...	ij. vj <sup>d</sup> .	ij. vj <sup>d</sup> ."
Etc., etc.		

Here follows a long list of fees which it is hardly worth while to set down at length.

Amongst other records of charitable relief we find :—

"May 24<sup>th</sup> 1663. paide to one lasse called Grigg who came from about Cockermouth; and had her mother burnt with y<sup>e</sup> house to ashes y<sup>e</sup> sum of ... .. 3 6<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>.  
Simon Webster Vicar."

This "lasse" seems to have been a worthy object of relief, but not so the next person I have :—

"Septe<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1663. p<sup>d</sup> to John Milner (a most ungrateful pson) y<sup>e</sup> sum of 14 sh: collected by the Church wardens.

John Bowerbank	} Church w:."
Rich Ward	
Robt Bristow	
John Tarne	

About the same time, but without date :—

"P<sup>d</sup> to a poor scholar, a Scotchman, by John Tarne 18<sup>d</sup>."

Here follows a list of collections "on brief" for private individuals, as well as for the repair of various churches, made in 1661-2, viz., Rippon, Great Drayton, Pontefract, &c.



In the year 1661 :—

“ 8<sup>3</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. collected for Matthew Wiseman and John Wilson, who were taken prisoners by the Turkes.”

This brings us down to the last page of this volume, and consequently to the close of this paper.

We have here from a single volume, and interspersed with the regular entries of baptisms, marriages, and burials, no small variety of subjects—grave and gay, domestic and public, local and general, exciting and subduing, amusing and instructive ; affairs concerning England and Scotland, paupers, peers, and princes, ranging from Edward III., king of England, France, and Ireland, to Queen Bess, and on from her to the reign of Anne ; matters relating to the execution of noble lords, the exploits of Border raiders, and the sacred offices of the parish priest ; denouncing of excommunication, and declaring of reconciliation ; recording collections for charitable objects, and “touching for the king’s evil ;” embracing all ranks—Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and father of kings, the earls and barons of the district, as well as those of the Court of the vain Elizabeth ; passing by the poor “wench unknown,” down to the last entry I shall give, recording the burial of one in humble life, though no worse a Christian for that, and who, having been employed like the prodigal son, we may hope has been, like him, received into his Father’s house :—

“ 1707. May 7<sup>th</sup> Rowland Goodfellow the Townes swineherd, buried.”

ON THE HISTORY OF THEATRES IN LONDON,  
FROM THEIR FIRST OPENING IN 1576 TO  
THEIR CLOSING IN 1642.

By F. G. FLEAY, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc.

IN the time before the building of theatres the men's companies used to act in inn-yards on temporary stages ; but the boys' companies seem to have had more permanent arrangements. The Paul's boys, for instance, acted in a singing room of their own till they were inhibited in 1589, and again from 1599 to 1606: the children of the Chapel also, in my opinion, acted in the Blackfriars building many years before it was rebuilt as a private theatre in 1596. But it is not with these temporary arrangements that this paper is concerned.

In 1576 the first theatre was built in London, by J. Burbadge. It was simply called The Theatre. Almost simultaneously the Curtain was erected. They both stood in the fields at Holywell, Shoreditch. No one, I believe, has hitherto attempted to determine what companies acted at these theatres ; yet there can be no doubt that Leicester's men, of whom James Burbadge was one, acted at the Theatre, perhaps alternately with Warwick's ; while the actors of Sussex, the then Chamberlain, perhaps alternately with Derby's, occupied the Curtain.

In 1583 Warwick's and Leicester's men were united under the name of the Queen's men, who are known to have remained at the Theatre under J. Lanham, but at the Curtain the men of the new Chamberlain, P. Howard, afterwards Admiral and Earl of Nottingham, probably succeeded to those of Sussex.

On 27th December, 1591, the Queens' men, in my opinion,

were almost entirely merged in L. Strange's company, under the management of Alleyn, and on or before 19th February, 1591-2, they removed to the third London theatre, the Rose, built for Henslowe on Bankside ; their place at the Theatre was (as we shall show later on) filled by Pembroke's men, while the Curtain, also vacant through the inhibition placed on the Admiral's, was probably occupied by Sussex's company.

On 26th December, 1593 (Henslowe has 27th December wrongly), Sussex's actors came to the Rose, and on the 1st of April, 1594, were joined by the remnant of the Queen's men left when L. Strange's company absorbed the most of them ; but they finally quitted London on 8th April and went into the country. I should say here that 1593 having been a great plague year all the theatres had been closed, and their companies "travelled." This is the reason why we find new arrangements made by most of them in 1594. On 14th May, 1594, the Admiral's men came to the Rose, and the Chamberlain's, formerly L. Strange's, after acting about the City of London and at the Cross Keys in the winter, and from June 5th to June 15th (Henslowe has 3-13) at Newington, took possession of the Curtain.

In October, 1597, the lease of the Theatre having expired, Pembroke's men left it and joined the Admiral's ; the building was soon after pulled down, and the materials used in building the Globe, to which the Chamberlain's men removed in 1599. In 1596 the Blackfriars building was adapted to theatrical purposes, but as it was used solely by a children's company, that of the Queen's Chapel, afterwards called Her Majesty's Revels, this did not interfere with the existing arrangements of the men players.

Between September and December, 1600, the fourth public theatre in London was opened by the Admiral's company, who moved to it from the Rose ; it was called the Fortune, and was situate in Golding Lane, St. Giles, Cripplegate. It was a square building, the preceding public theatres being round. The company occupying the Rose after this was Derby's, afterwards called the Earl of Worcester's.

This brings us to the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to another great plague year, 1603, during which performances were forbidden. James I. changed the names of the companies. The Chamberlain's became the King's, the Earl of Worcester's the Queen's, and the Admiral's Prince Henry's. The Rose was given up in 1603, and the Queen's company played at the Boar's Head (an inn-yard) till 1609, when they removed to the Red Bull, St. John Street, Clerkenwell; they had also had possession of the Curtain since 1600. This is clear from the fact that in 1601 a company acting at the Curtain got into trouble; and, as this company is expressly distinguished from the Chamberlain's and the Admiral's, it could only have been Derby's (Worcester's), there being no other men's company then acting in London. In 1604 the children at the private house in Blackfriars assumed the name of Children of the Queen's Revels. In 1606 they were succeeded by the Children of the King's Revels, an entirely distinct company, which in 1610 became the Duke of York's. In this same year, 1610, another private house was opened in Whitefriars by a second set of Children of the Queen's Revels; they remained there till 1613, after which we hear nothing of them, and only once of their theatre.

In 1612 Prince Henry died, and shortly after the Princess Elizabeth married the Palsgrave. These events had great influence on the theatres. Prince Henry's company became the Palsgrave's on January 3, 1612-13. From that of the Duke of York (now Prince Charles) and the Queen's Revels children were formed various companies, which ultimately became the Princess Elizabeth's and the Prince's. I need not go through these tangled details here, having already done so in my paper on actors. I must notice, however, that on October 3, 1614, the Princess Elizabeth's company acted at the Hope (previously a bear garden) on Bank-side. Excepting the years 1613, 1614, this theatre does not appear in dramatic history. It probably became a bear garden again; and I have sometimes doubted if it were not identical with Paris Garden.



Before 1617, probably in 1615, Lady Elizabeth's company had removed to the Cockpit, another new theatre, which stood in Drury Lane; it was attacked by a prentice mob and destroyed on March 4, 1616-17, Shrove Tuesday; but soon restored and reopened.

On June 29, 1613, the Globe was burned down; the King's company thenceforth acted at Blackfriars, which seems, curiously enough, to have been just then unlet. After the rebuilding of the Globe they retained both houses to their own sole use. It is noticeable that the retirement of Shakespeare and of Beaumont from the stage is coincident with this fire, so that all the works of both these authors were originally produced at the Globe.

In 1619 Queen Anne died; the Queen's men then lost their title and recurred to the old one of the Revels, but not being children they called themselves the Company of the Revels. They are often confused with the children by uncritical writers.

In December, 1621, the Fortune was burned down. The accounts of the companies during 1622 are confused; but the Palsgrave's and Princess Elizabeth's seem to have been connected; and in 1623 I find the Prince Charles' men acting at the Curtain and at the Bull, and in 1624 at the Fortune. Of where they acted between 1615 and 1623 I find no trace, but suppose it must have been at the Curtain; nor is it certain at what houses the Prince's and the Palsgrave's acted in 1624. At this date, however, the four companies officially recognised were the King's, the Prince's, the Revels, and the Palsgrave's. In 1625 Charles I. came to the throne. The Lady Elizabeth's (or Queen of Bohemia's) company broke up, and Queen Henrietta's men took their place at the Cockpit (or Phoenix). The Curtain disappears from history, and the Prince's company takes the name of that of the Bull, and the Palsgrave's that of the Fortune. This year was also a great plague year; the plague always interfered with theatrical performances.

In 1629 a new private theatre was built on or near the site

of the Whitefriars; it was called that of Salisbury Court: the company acting at it was called the Company of the King's Revels. In 1632 this company removed to the Fortune, and Prince Charles' men acted at Salisbury Court.

In 1635 the Prince's company removed to the Fortune, the Revels to the Red Bull, and the company at the new theatre was called that of Salisbury Court.

In 1637 a new company, called the King and Queen's or Beeston's boys, was set up at the Cockpit (or Phoenix). The Queen's removed to Salisbury Court, the Prince's to the Bull, and the remaining company was simply called that of the Fortune.

In 1640 the Fortune company removed to the Bull, and the Prince's to the Fortune.

In 1642 the theatres were closed, and in 1647 finally put down.

Such, then, is the whole story of the theatres from their introduction till their suppression at the beginning of the Civil War. The question naturally suggests itself, Is it worth while to occupy a society like ours with so slight a subject? In answer I would first say that till now the whole history of our drama has been one mass of confusion, in consequence of no careful analysis of this kind having been made. Nearly all writers on the subject have swallowed without research and without objection the statements of Mr. Collier, which are based in so many instances on forgeries and guesses as to be practically worse than worthless. Take for instance his dates for the construction of theatres ("Annals of the Stage," i., 343). He gives for the Theatre 1570 (6 years wrong); the Curtain, 1570 (7 years wrong); Blackfriars, 1576 (20 years wrong); Whitefriars, 1576 (34 years wrong); the Rose, 1585 (7 years wrong); and the Globe, 1594 (5 years wrong). He asserts that the Chamberlain's (or King's) men acted at the Globe in the summer and at Blackfriars in the winter during the period of Shakespeare's career from 1594 to 1613, the fact being that they acted at the Curtain from 1594 to 1599, not at all at Blackfriars, and at the Globe

(only) from 1599 to 1613; he assigns the occupation of the Curtain to Prince Henry's company from 1603 onward, the truth being that the Queen's company acted there and Prince Henry's at the Fortune. In the same work he confuses the company of His Majesty's Revels with the children of His Majesty's Revels (iii., pp. 293-4); he says the Queen's men played at the Bull in 1603 (iii., pp. 324, 329), whereas they did not go there till 1609; he confuses Wentworth and William Smith (iii., p. 325); and repeats Malone's blunder that the Queen's servants became those of Princess Elizabeth in 1619 (iii., 330): they really became the Revels company.

But it would take us too long to enumerate his blunders and perversions. I will just in one instance show how such things bear on æsthetic criticism.

The Globe was a public theatre, that is to say, open to the air, with daylight performances, cheap terms of admission (penny and twopenny galleries), situated on Bankside Blackfriars was a private house, covered in, with performances by candlelight, dearer admission (no price under sixpence), and allowing visitors to sit on the stage. These kinds of theatres appealed to different audiences: the public theatre provided Jigs, Fools, or Clowns, and, in their earlier career, Hobby-horses, Vices, and Iniquities, suited to the sightseers, who came in wherries across the Thames; the private houses dealt rather with comedies of personal satire, tragedies founded on classical history, or pastorals, which the critical amateurs or the aristocratic *dilettanti* visited in coaches. It should never be forgotten in comparing the work of Shakespeare with that of Fletcher, Massinger, or Shirley that the former wrote for public theatres only; hence it was impossible for him to avoid introducing, for many a long year, his puns, his clowns and fools; the wonder is how he educated his audiences, before he gave up writing, to appreciate such plays as *Coriolanus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*, whereas of his successors, those who wrote, like him, for public stages, invariably fell back into buffoonery and spectacular show; and those who wrote for the private ones soon degenerated into

lascivious effeminacy or polished imitation. This one fact will account at once for the frequent superiority of the after men in stage business, for the necessity of considerable alteration in fitting Shakespeare to the modern stage, and for the large amount of excision, interpolation, and other changes which I have elsewhere shown to have been introduced into *Macbeth*, *Julius Cæsar*, and other plays, even before the accession of the First Charles, in 1625.

It will have been noticed that the usual number of theatres in existence simultaneously was six, the number of companies five. It has generally been supposed that the number was much greater. There is a well-known passage in Howe's continuation of Stow, which is conclusive on this point and deserves fuller explanation than it has received. Speaking of the theatre at Salisbury Court in 1631, he says :—

“And this is the seventeenth stage or common playhouse which hath been new made within the space of three score years within London and the suburbs, viz., five inns or common hosteleries turned to playhouses ; one cockpit, St. Paul's singing school, one in the Blackfriars, and one in the Whitefriars, which was built last of all in the year 1629. All the rest, not named, were erected only for common playhouses, besides the new-built bear garden, which was built as well for plays and fencers' prizes, as bull-baiting, besides one in former time at Newington Butts.”

Let us see if we can identify these 17 stages : viz., five inns, four private houses, two bear gardens, and six public theatres.

The six public stages are necessarily—1. The Theatre ; 2. Curtain ; 3. The Rose ; 4. The Globe ; 5. The Fortune ; 6. The Red Bull (or perhaps the Swan). The four private houses he enumerates, viz.—1. Blackfriars ; 2. Whitefriars (or Salisbury Court) ; 3. The Cockpit (or Phoenix) ; 4. St. Paul's Singing School. It will be noticed that he reckons Salisbury Court as a rebuilding of Whitefriars, and not as a separate theatre.

The two bear gardens he gives as Newington Butts and the Hope ; as he does not mention Paris Garden, this



confirms my conjecture that it and the Hope were identical. The five inns were probably the Belle Savage in Ludgate ; the Bull, in Bishopsgate Street ; the Cross Keys, in Gracious Street ; the Boar's Head, outside Aldgate ; and the Swan, on Bankside (or perhaps the Red Bull). The Swan is usually regarded as a theatre, but it may have been only an inn. These five inns only come incidentally under our notice, and we must not be misled with regard to them by the frontispiece to Mr. Collier's "History of the Drama," vol. iii., 1831. In his last edition he has re-christened the engraving of the Swan, and called it the Fortune. As these theatres were on different sides of the river, it is hard to guess from what maps he obtained his data.

We now come to an important question as to these theatres. We have identified the companies who acted in them, and, by the help of the paper I read to you last year, can even, in many cases, identify the individual actors ; but can we answer a question far more interesting to us, What poets were connected with these companies, and at which theatres were their works performed ? I can answer this question, but have only room, in my allotted limits, to give a list. If you will permit me hereafter, I hope to lay before you detailed proof for every instance here alleged. The chief source of information on this matter at present available is Mr. Halliwell's "Dictionary of Old English Plays." This I have made the basis of my investigations, supplementing, and in many instances correcting, it from the title-pages of every drama accessible to me, and from the entries in Mr. Arber's excellent reprint of the "Stationers' Registers."

Previously to 1583, Lyly and Peele were writing for the Chapel children. From 1584 to 1592 Greene, Lodge (?), Peele, and probably Shakespeare, wrote for the Queen's men at the Theatre, and Marlowe and Lodge for the Admiral's at the Curtain. The following anonymous plays were also produced by the Queen's men : *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, the old play of *Leir*, *Richard III.*, *Selimus*, and *Valentine and Orson*. In 1592 Shakespeare, Marlow, Peele, and perhaps

Greene, were writing for L. Strange's at the Rose. This company also produced *Fair Emm*, *The Knack to Know a Knave*, 1 *Henry VI.*, *Titus and Vespasian* (probably Shakespeare's version of the Titus Andronicus story), the *Jealous Comedy* (which I take to be the same as the *Merry Wives of Windsor*), and had acquired Greene's *Friar Bacon* and *Orlando*, Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* (*Mulomorco*), Kyd's *Don Horatio* and *Spanish Tragedy*, Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, Greene and Lodge's *Looking-glass*, and the *Famous Victories of Harry V.* These eight plays had probably all been acted by the Queen's men.

In 1593-4 Sussex's men acted, at the Rose, *George-a-Greene*, *Titus Andronicus* (falsely attributed to Shakespeare), and the old *Leir*, formerly in the possession of the Queen's company.

Between 1592 and 1597 Pembroke's men acted at the Theatre *The True Tragedy* and the old *Taming of a Shrew* (both falsely attributed to Shakespeare), and Marlowe's *Edward II.* They also acted *Titus Andronicus*, which they obtained from Sussex's men when they broke up.

Between June, 1594, and October, 1597, the Admiral's men played, at the Rose, Marlowe's *Guise* (*Massacre of Paris*), which they must have brought from L. Strange's; his *Tamberlaine* (from the old Admiral's company); his *Doctor Faustus*, the second part of *Godfrey of Boulogne* (which I identify with Heywood's *Four Prentices of London*), *The Knack to Know an Honest Man*, *Cæsar and Pompey*, *Stilio* (*Celio*) and *Olympo*, *Hercules*, parts i. and ii., *Five Plays in One*, and *Troy* (which are identified by me with the *Golden*, *Silver*, *Brazen*, and *Iron Ages* of Heywood), the *Grecian Comedy*; or, *Love of a Grecian Lady* (which I identify with Heywood's *Jupiter and Io*), a new play on *Harry V.*, Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, Dekker's *Fortunatus*, *Stukely*, *Time's Triumph* (possibly Heywood's *Cupid and Psyche*), the anonymous *Vortiger* and *Uter Pendragon* (which may have been the foundation of the *Birth of Merlin* (attributed absurdly to Shakespeare), and the *Comedy of Humours* (which is certainly Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth*). The entry in Henslowe of Nash's *Isle of Dogs* is a forgery.

In June, 1594, the Chamberlain's men, formerly L. Strange's, acted at Newington Butts *Hester and Ahasuerus*, *Andronicus* (probably *Titus and Vespasian*), *Hamlet* (the old version), and the *Taming of a Shrew* (probably the Shakespearian, not the old Pembroke drama).

For the Admiral's company, acting at the Rose from November, 1597, to September, 1600, Henslowe's Diary enables us to give an exhaustive list of poets as subjoined :—

Haughton,	from	5 November, 1597,	to	18 February, 1598
and	„	20 August, 1599	„	Fortune
Jonson	„	3 December, 1597	„	23 August, 1598
and	„	10 August, 1599	„	3 September, 1599
Munday	„	22 December, 1597	„	Fortune
Dekker	„	22 December, 1597	„	Fortune
Chettle	„	20 February, 1598	„	Fortune
Drayton	„	13 March, 1598	„	Fortune
Wilson	„	25 March, 1598	„	21 August, 1598
and	„	16 October, 1599	„	10 January, 1600
Chapman	„	16 May, 1598	„	17 July, 1599
Porter	„	30 May, 1598	„	7 April, 1599
Hathaway	„	12 April, 1598	„	19 July, 1598
and	„	16 October, 1599	„	Fortune
*Day	„	1 November, 1599	„	Fortune
Heywood	„	6 December, 1598	„	10 February, 1599
Boyle	„	9 February, 1600		
Pitt	„	17 May, 1600		

A similar list is annexed of the poets who wrote for the same company at the Fortune from 14 December, 1600, to 12 March, 1603 :—

Haughton,	from	Rose to	14 November, 1601
Munday	„	„	2 December, 1602
Dekker	„	„	3 November, 1602
Chettle	„	„	12 March, 1603

\* An old play of Day's was purchased by Henslowe, 30 July, 1598, and one of Rankine's, 3 October, 1598.

N.B.—In the dates in this table, modern notation is used : thus February, 1598-9, is written February, 1599.

Drayton, from Rose to 29 May, 1602  
 Hathaway „ „ „ 1 March, 1603  
 Day „ „ „ 1 March, 1603  
 Smith „ 4 April, 1601, to 8 November, 1602  
 Rankine „ 3 January, 1601, to 18 April, 1601  
 Wadeson „ 13 January, 1601  
 Jonson „ 25 September, 1601, to 24 June, 1602  
 Webster „ 3 November, 1601, to 22 May, 1602  
 Rowley and Bird from 20 Dec., 1601, to 22 Nov., 1602  
 Middleton from 22 May, 1602, to 14 December, 1602  
 Robinson, 9 September, 1602  
 Singer, 13 January, 1603

Of these poets Dekker, Chettle, Smith, Webster, Middleton, Hathaway, Day, and Heywood were also writing contemporaneously for Worcester's men at the Rose between 17 August, 1602, and 7 March, 1603.

Besides the plays enumerated in Henslowe's Diary and tabulated in my "Introduction to Shakespearian Study," Worcester's men also possessed Green's *Tu. quoque*, or *City Gallant*, and *How a Man may Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* (both in my opinion written by Cooke), and had inherited from Derby's men *Guy, Earl of Warwick*,\* by Day and Dekker, the *Trial of Chivalry* (possibly by Heywood), the *Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, Heywood's *Edward IV.* (also called *Fane Shore*, and entered under that title in 1599), and *Titus Andronicus* (formerly played by Sussex and Pembroke's men; our present play, not by Shakespeare). As Marlowe's *Edward II.* was played by Queen Anne's men at the Bull after 1609, they must also have had this play from Pembroke's company.

The Earl of Oxford's men played at some theatre before 1600 *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*.

In 1602 the spectacle of *England's Joy*, by Fennor, was shown at the Swan.

Besides the plays of Shakespeare, the Chamberlain's men

\* Cf. Taylor's *Penniless Pilgrimage* (near the end), and Stationers' Registers, 1619.



played at the Globe *Mucedorus*, the *Warning to Fair Women*, the *Siege of Antwerp*, or *Larum for London*, and the *Life and Death of Cromwell*, before the death of Queen Elizabeth. Of Shakespeare's plays early sketches of *Hamlet*, *All's Well that ends Well*, *Macbeth*, *Love's Labours Lost*, *Love's Labours Won*, and *Romeo and Juliet* were almost certainly produced at the Theatre between 1589 and 1591; early sketches of the *Merry Wives* and *Titus and Vespasian* at the Rose in 1592; *Midsummer Night's Dream* also in 1592, but not at the Rose; *Edward III.*, *Richard II.*, and the *Taming of the Shrew*, in its first state, while travelling in 1593; the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Comedy of Errors*, *King John*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV.*, and rewritten versions of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merry Wives*, *Love's Labours Lost*, *Love's Labours Won* (*Much Ado about Nothing*), at the Curtain, between 1594 and 1599, or at the Cross Keys, where the Chamberlain's men played some years in the winter; the other plays, from *Henry V.* onward, were certainly produced at the Globe, and played there till 1613.

We have now reached the end of the men's company poets in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Of the boys' companies left for consideration, one serves as a connecting link between her reign and her successor's. Between 1599 and 1606, in addition to plays by Lyly (formerly in the possession of the Chapel Children), the Paul's boys acted plays by Marston, Dekker, Chapman, Middleton, Webster, and one by Beaumont; also *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, *Dr. Doddipoll*, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, and *The Abuses*.

The other company, the Chapel children, who played at Blackfriars, produced, between 1599 and 1601, three satirical plays by Jonson, *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (afterwards in the possession of the Paul's boys) and *Sir Giles Goosecap*.

Between 1602 and 1605 the Blackfriars children (otherwise the Children of the Revels) produced some dozen plays by Chapman, Marston, and Middleton at the same theatre. Middleton probably left the company of Worcester at the end of 1602 (compare the list on p. 131.)

From 1606 to 1610 Day, Sharpham, Rowley, Machin, Middleton, Mason, and Barry wrote for the King's Revels children performing at Blackfriars; Armin also wrote one play for them during his temporary defection from the King's company.

From 1610 to 1613 Chapman, Jonson, Field, Marston, Beaumont, and Fletcher wrote for the second Queen's Revels children, acting at Whitefriars. Tailor also produced his *Hog hath lost a Pearl* at this theatre in 1614, after which we hear no more of this private house.

Between 1603 and 1616 Wilkins, Day, Rowley, Heywood, Dekker, Webster, and William Smith wrote for the Queen's men, acting at the Boar's Head 1603-9, at the Red Bull 1609-16, and simultaneously at the Curtain 1603-15; the anonymous play of *Nobody and Somebody* (revived) and the *Honest Lawyer* (by S. S.) also belong to this group.

In 1614 Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was produced at the Hope by Lady Elizabeth's men.

In 1613 Field wrote for the conjoined companies of the Lady Elizabeth and Prince (Charles), then performing at Blackfriars.

Before 1615 R. A. wrote *The Valiant Welchman* for the Prince (? Charles) company.

About 1611 *The Ship*, *Long Meg*, and *The Almanac* were acted at the Fortune by Prince Henry's men.

Between 1603 and 1613 were acted at the Globe by the King's men, in addition to Shakespeare's plays, the following:—*Gowry*, *The London Prodigal*, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Buck is a Thief*, and plays by Dekker (*Satiromastix*), Wilkins, Jonson, Marston, and Webster (*Malcontent*\*), Tourneur, Fletcher, Beaumont, William Smith, and T. B.

\* This case of *The Malcontent* is worth special notice. It was acted first at Blackfriars, by the Chapel children, and afterwards appropriated and acted at the Globe, "with Webster's additions," by the King's company. In the induction, Sly says, when the tireman tells him he cannot sit on the stage, "Why, we may sit on the stage at the private house" (*i.e.*, at Black-

This completes our list to 1613.

Between 1619 and 1622 Dekker, May, Massinger, Sampson, and Markham wrote for the Revels company, acting at the Red Bull and the Curtain; *The Welsh Traveller* and the *Two Merry Milkmaids* belong to this group.

In 1623 Bonen wrote for the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit, where *The Gipsy*, *The Black Lady*, and *The Valiant Scholar* were also acted. Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside* was acted by this company at the Swan (date unknown).

friars, the only private house then existing); and adds afterwards, "I am one that hath seen this play often;" and again alluding to the former performances he says, "This play hath beaten all your gallants out of the feathers; Blackfriars hath almost spoiled Blackfriars for feathers." And again Condell says, "Why not Malevole in folio with us as *Jeronimo* in decimo-sexto with them? They taught us a name for our play; we call it one for another." Decimo-sexto shows that it had been acted by a children's company; yet Mr. Collier and his followers will have it that the Admiral's company of men is intended. The mistake has arisen from the fact that when Jonson, in September, 1601, left the Chapel children and returned to the Admiral's, he took with him the play of *Jeronimo* (the *Spanish tragedy*), for which he afterward wrote additions. There is no doubt he had acted *Jeronimo* with the Chapel children, and that he wrote additions for it for Henslowe, in September, 1601, and June, 1602; but these additions are clearly not extant: the additions in the extant play are by quite a different hand. It is not unlikely that Jonson himself is alluded to in the following speeches.

*Sinklo*.—I durst lay four of mine ears the play is not so well acted as it hath been.

*Condell*.—Oh no, sir; nothing *ad Parmenonis Suem*.

He would most likely have taken the chief part in *The Malcontent* with the Chapel children, as he did in *Jeronimo*. Compare the allusion to garlic further on with what Dekker says of Jonson's garlic comedies in *Satiromastix*, Sc. 2, and note the allusions to Hector and Achilles, *i.e.*, to *Troilus and Cressida* by Shakespeare. In 1604, when the King's men acted *The Malcontent*, Jonson, who had written *Sejanus* for them, in 1603 was satirizing their plays, *Hamlet*, &c., in *Eastward Ho*, in conjunction with Chapman and Marston. It was therefore a good joke for the King's men to retaliate by acting a play of Marston's in which Jonson had probably taken a chief part. In any case there is not a particle of evidence that the Admiral's men ever had any right to it, or that the King's men acted it at Blackfriars.



In 1623, 1624, Davenport, Drew, Sam. Rowley, Bonen, Gunnell, and Ford wrote for the Palsgrave's company at the Fortune, who also acted the *Angel King*, the *Fair Star of Antwerp*, and the *Whore in Grain*.

Between 1622 and 1625 Rowley, Broome, Jonson junior, Sampson, Ford, Dekker, Barnes, and Middleton wrote for the Prince Charles' men, who also produced the *Dutch Painter*, *Revenge for Honour* (foolishly attributed to Chapman), the *Plantations of Virginia*, the *Peaceable King*, and an old Admiral's play, the *Four Sons of Aymon*. The *Dutch Painter* was acted at the Curtain; hence Mr. Halliwell is mistaken in assigning *Hector of Germany* as the last play there performed; the other plays were acted at the Bull or Curtain, except the *Witch of Edmonton*, which (if we can trust the 1658 title-page) was acted at the Cockpit. For the Princess Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit before 1625 plays were written by Ford, Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley.

From 1613 to 1625 the poets of the King's company at the Globe and Blackfriars were Jonson, Fletcher, Webster, Middleton, Davenport, Rowley, and Massinger. This completes our list to the accession of Charles I.

Between 1625 and 1642 the poets of this same company were Jonson, Mayne, Ford, Massinger, Shirley, Carlell, Davenant, Broome, Glapthorne, Suckling, Heywood (in one play with Broome), and Wilson. They also acted Chettle's old play of *Hoffmann*.

Between 1625 and 1637 the poets of the Queen's company at the Cockpit (or Phoenix) were J. Shirley, Heywood, Glapthorne, Nabbes, H. Shirley, and Rutter.

Between 1637 and 1642 Nabbes, Killigrew, Marmion, and Rutter wrote for their Majesties' servants at the Cockpit; the *Spaniards in Peru*, and the *World*, were also acted at this theatre; but they depended greatly on revivals of old plays, of which they possessed many, by Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, Broome, Middleton, Ford, Greene, ? Heywood, Webster, Rowley, &c. Most of these had belonged to Queen Henrietta's company; one or two can be traced back to Queen Anne's and Sussex's; one to the Revels children.



The Revels companies must be carefully distinguished; for that acting at the Bull and Curtain, between 1619 and 1623, Rowley, May, and Massinger wrote plays.

For the Revels company, acting at the Bull from 1635 to 1637, Rawlins and Richards wrote. *The Whore*, new vampt, *The Whisperer*, and *Actæon and Diana*, were also acted at this theatre, but by what company is uncertain.

*The Knave in Grain*, new vampt, by J. D., was acted at the Fortune, by what company I know not.

At Salisbury Court private house was acted a play by Shirley, in 1632, by the Revels company.

In 1633, by the Prince's company, plays by Nabbes, and Marmion; also *The City Shuffler*, and in 1634 *Love's After-game*, or the *Proxy*.

In 1635 Broome was writing for the Revels company at Salisbury Court; Mr. Collier's guess that they then acted at the Bull is erroneous; and in 1636 *Sir Giles Goosecap* (formerly belonging to the Chapel children) was acted there.

From 1637 to 1640 Broome and Sharp wrote plays for the Queen's company at this theatre.

Goffe, Lovelace, and Rider wrote also for the same house, but for what company is not known. The *Old Law* was revived there by Massinger, probably in 1639.

This concludes the list, which contains the name of every author and anonymous play that can be traced with certainty in connection with any theatre before 1642.

It will consequently be in the power of any reader, by help of this paper, to trace the theatre at which any play of a known date by a known author was produced; and conversely, if the theatre and author be known, to fix the date within limits of about five years, so that by taking the central year he need never incur more than a three years' error: and finally, when the author is unknown, but the date and theatre known, the list of authors then writing for the said theatre is at once attainable, and, what is more important, the lists of authors who were writing for other theatres, and which, therefore, cannot contain the one required. Attention

to this point would have saved our critics of the new school numerous hypotheses they have put forth as probabilities, which are in fact demonstrable absurdities. It is to prevent the recurrence of such misleading and time-wasting criticism that the means of testing it have here been brought together, while at the same time I trust that the numerous inferences as to biographical facts in the careers of Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, Shakespeare, &c., now rendered possible, would justify even a longer tax on your patience than that inflicted this evening.

I append two tables for reference—1, of the companies acting at the several theatres from 1576 to 1642; it will be seen that in every instance (with one possible exception) the tenancy of every theatre is accounted for; 2, of the Revels accounts from 1603 to 1618, which will be found specially useful for understanding the complex history of the companies during 1613-1616.

THEATRE, (Leicester's { Warwick's Queen's Pembroke's	CURTAIN. (Sussex' { Derby's Admiral's Sussex'	ROSE. Strange's Sussex' & Queen's Admiral's ii. A. & Pembroke's	[The Bull in Bishopsgate, Cross Keys, Swan, Belle Savage, Boar's Head, and buildings in Whitefriars and Blackfriars were also used for theatrical performances.]		
			NEWINGTON. Chamberlain's FORTUNE.	BLACKFRIARS. Chapel Children	PAUL'S. Inhibited in 1589
1577	"	"	Admiral's	"	Revived
1583	"	"	"	"	till 1606
1592	"	"	"	"	"
1593	"	"	"	"	"
1594	"	"	"	"	"
1597	"	"	"	"	"
1599	"	"	"	"	"
1600	"	"	"	"	"
1602	"	"	"	"	"
1603	"	"	"	"	"
1606	"	"	"	"	"
1609-10	"	"	"	"	"
1612-13	"	"	"	"	"
1614 *	"	"	"	"	"
1617	"	"	"	"	"
1619	"	"	"	"	"
1623	"	"	"	"	"
1625	"	"	"	"	"
1629	"	"	"	"	"
1632	"	"	"	"	"
1635	"	"	"	"	"
1637	"	"	"	"	"
1640	"	"	"	"	"

\* In 1614 L. Elizabeth's acted at the Horse.

	KING'S.	PRINCE'S.	QUEEN'S.	i. QUEEN'S REVELS.	
1603-4	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 9 plays, Dec. 2, 26, 27, 28, 30; Jan. 1; Feb. 2, 18.	<i>E. Allen, E. Juby.</i> 4 plays, Jan. 4, 15, 21, 22. <i>E. Juby.</i> , Feb. 19.	QUEEN'S. <i>J. Duke.</i> 2 plays, Jan. 2, 13.	i. QUEEN'S REVELS. <i>E. Kirkham.</i> 1 play, Feb. 20.	
1604-5	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 11 plays, Nov. 1, 4; Dec. 26, 28; Jan. 7, 8; Feb. 2, 3, 10, 11, 12.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 8 plays, Nov. 23, 24; Dec. 14, 19; Jan. 15, 22; Feb. 5, 19.	<i>J. Duke.</i> 1 play, Dec. 30.	<i>S. Daniel, H. Evans.</i> 2 plays, Jan. 1, 3.	
1605-6	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 10 plays.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 6 plays.	<i>J. Duke.</i> 1 play, Dec. 27.	PAUL'S. <i>E. Kirkham.</i> 2 plays.	
1606-7	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 3 plays before the King of Denmark, and 9 plays, Dec. 26, 29; Jan. 4, 6, 8; Feb. 2, 5, 15, 27.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 6 plays.			
1607-8	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 13 plays, Dec. 26 (Lear), 27, 28; Jan. 2, 6, 7, 9, 17, 26; Feb. 2, 6.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 4 plays, Nov., Dec., Jan.			
1608-9	<i>J. Hemings.</i> 12 plays.	<i>E. Juby.</i> 3 plays.			
1609-10	[The Plague prevailed in London in 1609.]				D. OF YORK'S. <i>W. Rowley.</i> 1 play, Feb. 9.



1610-11	KING'S. <i>J. Hemings</i> . 15 plays.	PRINCE'S. <i>E. Fuby</i> . 4 plays.	QUEEN'S. <i>T. Greene</i> . 3 plays.	i. L. ELIZABETH'S.  D. OF YORK'S. <i>W. Rowley</i> . 3 plays, Dec. 12, 20; Jan. 15.
1611-12	<i>J. Hemings</i> . 22 plays, Oct. 31; Nov. 1, 5, 9, 19; Dec. 16, 26, 31; Jan. 5, 7, 15; Feb. 9, 19, 20, 23, 28; Mar. 28; Apl. 3, 16, 26.	<i>E. Fuby</i> . 4 plays, Dec. 28, 29; Feb. 5, 29.	<i>T. Greene</i> . 4 plays, Dec. 27; Jan. 16, 23; Feb. 2.	<i>W. Rowley</i> . 4 plays, Jan. 12, 28; Feb. 13, 18.
1612-13	<i>J. Hemings</i> . * 28 plays & June 8 (before D. of Savoy's ambassador).	<i>E. Fuby</i> . 1 play.	CHAPEL (ii. REVELS) <i>P. Rossiter</i> . 3 plays.	ii. L. ELIZABETH'S. <i>J. Taylor</i> . 2 plays.
1613-14	<i>J. Hemings</i> . 7 plays, Nov. 4, 16; Jan. 10; Feb. 4, 8, 10, 18, and 9 plays from Nov. to Mar.		QUEEN'S. <i>R. Lee</i> . 2 plays, Dec. 28; Jan. 5.	<i>J. Taylor</i> . Dec. 12 ( <i>Dutch Cour- tesan</i> ); Jan. 25 ( <i>East- ward Ho</i> ).
1614-15	[* Among these were <i>Cardenio</i> , <i>The Captain</i> , <i>The Alchemist</i> , <i>Hotspur</i> (Henry IV.), <i>Benedicite</i> [sic] and <i>Beltriss</i> , <i>A Bad Beginning</i> <i>Makes a</i> <i>Good Ending</i> , <i>The Tempest</i> , and <i>Winter's Tale</i> .—Shakespeare Society's Papers, ii. 125. For the list of plays said to have been acted 1604-5 and 1611-12 see Cunningham's "Revels at Court," pp. 203, 210.]			<i>N. Field</i> . Nov. 1 ( <i>Bartholomew Fair</i> ).
1617				<i>J. Townsend, J. Moore</i> . 3 plays during King's journey to Scotland.
1618	<i>J. Hemings</i> . Apl. 6 ( <i>Twelfth Night</i> ), Apl. 7 ( <i>Winter's Tale</i> ); May 3 ( <i>Merry Devil of Edmon- ton</i> ).			

Totals—152 (King's), 41 (Prince's), 13 (Queen's), 3 (1 Queen's Revels), 1 (Paul's), 3 (2 Queen's Revels), 11 (Lady Elizabeth's),  
10 (D. of York's). In all 234.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN POPULATIONS, &c., IN THEIR MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS, ILLUSTRATED FROM AUTONOMOUS COINS, GEMS, INSCRIPTIONS, &c.

By HYDE CLARKE, F.R.H.S.

ALTHOUGH the results in this paper may appear to be novel, and are largely derived from sources newly opened up, in reality they are only the sequence of previous investigations. Long since there were published by me in the *Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, and of the *Anthropological Institute*, and also in the *Transactions of this Royal Historical Society*, a list of place names. These tables showed the identity of the ancient names of cities in the Old World from India to Britain, and of those in the New World in wide regions.

These lists met with little attention, because the comparisons could not be understood by some persons, and were looked upon by others as the mere consequences of casual resemblance. There were, however, many details pointed out by me, which showed the positive connection. Thus in the case of some names they were found to be in a plural form both in Hebrew and in Greek. Certain rules were observable in double vowels, and in the change of consonants for the transliteration into the various languages.\*

It necessarily follows that the present investigation carries the evidence very much further, and it reveals the unsuspected fact that in hundreds of cases the records of extinct languages

\* *Palestine Exploration Fund*, New Series, iv., p. 193, &c., *Khita* and *Khita Peruvian Epoch*, pp. 57-61.

are preserved on coins, to which a totally different signification has been assigned. Nothing is more certain than that emblems may be transmitted through thousands of years to alien races. A very sufficient example is that of Byzantium, where the Moon (or Crescent) and Star, which had been introduced by the prehistoric founders, were used by the Greeks and in our day are accepted by the Turks.

The autonomous coins constitute a very large class in Asia, Africa, and Europe, being those struck by cities, and many small towns which even under the Roman Empire preserved their privilege of local coinage. On the later coins will be found Roman legends and Roman symbols. On the earlier coins are found animals' heads and other objects.

By these the coins are readily recognised, as those of Athens by the owl, those of Ephesus by the bee or stag, and those of Byzantium by a crescent and star. On coins of later time we find, besides these, images of the gods, Apollo, Diana, Pallas, and others.

It is not worth while inquiring what reasons, if any, have been assigned by ancients or moderns for the earlier symbols; it is better worth while to try and ascertain their relations. If then we sort out all the coins in a cabinet having a Horse or Horse's Head (and Pegasus comes into this class) or having a Bull, or having a Lion, we shall find that some of the words or names are very much alike.

Thus for Horse we find Corinth, Corcyra, Corone, Cyrene, Hyccara, Agyrium, Carmo, Crannon, and of the same root Celenderis, Gelas, Calycadnus, Bargylia.

We have also Camarina, Cyme, Cambolectri, Himera, Cavares, Andecavi, Cacaba, Panticapæum. Further we may take out Cissa, Cossa, Cos, Syracusa, Cassandra, Equæsia, Phocis, Osca, Ausa, Suessa. So other classes for this emblem can be recognised.

In choosing coins with a Bull (or Cow or Calf) we may define Pella, Pelius, Pylos, Pelinna, Baelo, Aballo, Abella, Cephalædium, Pholegandrus, Obulco, with Barea, Cibyra, Sybaris, Pherx, Epirus, Perinthus, Priene, Perrhæbia, &c.

We should also set apart Thera, Abdera, Dardanus, Tarraco, Thyatira, Dyrrhachium, Tauromenium, &c.

From the Lion pieces we get Samos, Samosata, Clazomenæ, Smyrna, also Miletus, Milyas, Mallus, and further Cœnicenses, Æna, Sicyon, among others.

The emblems on the coins will be found to be in relation to the forms of the names, and if we seek in vocabularies of ancient and other languages we shall find corresponding words, as in Akkad *Kurra* for Horse.

The matter, however, goes further. If more than one emblem is to be found on a coin, then there will be a parallelism of sound for these several emblems. Pella and Pelinna, for instance, have each a Horse and a Bull. On the coins of Pella, Aballo, Abella, we have a Sun (Apollo) and a Bull.

The coins of a class have not always throughout identical emblems, but then words of the same root will be found for the corresponding emblems.

It must not be assumed that Pella and Pelinna meant both Horse and Bull in the same language, though it is true that all the names for animals are found primarily allied.\* In the case cited, or in that of Pella, Aballo, and Abella, the towns must have been settled by fractions of tribes, in the languages of which the meanings were distributed. Pella must have meant Sun, Horse, Bull, but Aballo and Abella only embraced Sun and Bull, and Pelinna, Horse and Bull. Philologically the evidence for these conditions is easily found.

The conclusion is, that although there were the same kinds of tribes engaged in the colonization of each town, the distribution of the tribes was not identical in all cases.

That these emblems became those of the cities, we find by the whole course of events. A very familiar instance is that of the Crescent and Star of Byzantium, already quoted; but Byzantium had other emblems than this.

We can see that the cities were at times inhabited by various populations, as in the cases of Ephesus and Rome

\* See my Prehistoric Comp. Philology.



Indeed, the quarters of Ephesus had separate names; one had the remarkable name of Samorna (= Smyrna). On looking at Ephesus over and over again in my early days of these questions, it was always my conception that villages had been built on the several hills ranged under my eyes, and that these afterwards constituted the aggregation known as Ephesus. Samorna would bear the Lion. It will most likely be proved that the names of the hills of Rome likewise represent the tribes. The Capitoline has a most suspicious sound when we think of such names as Capua and its kindred.

Whatever may be our opinions as to these facts, they show that the town names throughout the Old World (and America must be added) are formed on one plan, and that where we have coins these town names have the sound of the names of animal and other objects.

As the town names are founded on one plan, so are they met with in every region. On looking at the lions, horses, bulls, we find they come from coins of Asia Minor, Greece, Sicily, Italy, Spain, and even from Africa, the Cimmerian Bosphorus and outlying districts. The same facts existed in Palestine as in Asia Minor; in Greece, Thrace, Macedonia, and the islands, as in Asia; in Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, as in Greece; in Spain, in the same way, but beyond Spain, in Aquitania, in Gaul, in Helvetia, in Belgium, in Britannia.

Thus we have those populations almost mythical in historians, who were supposed to have been in the Mediterranean region before the coming of the Semites and Aryans. These have been called Iberians, Pelasgians, Leleges, Amazons, and also Aborigines. They are commonly held to have been Turanians.

For these I have used, as others have, many terms, but for unknown and undecided facts the denomination applied is of small importance. It may be useful here to employ Iberian, and the rather as the word Iberian is used in reference to Britain for the prehistoric populations coming before the Celts. We must however be careful not to define the Iberians as Basques, or as Lapps, and to confine the word to the popu-

lations of culture, which formed organized communities, and transmitted their institutions to the Semites and Aryans.

The condition of the Iberian world, the aspect under which we can now see it, is important for our comprehension of general history. We find towns and populations composed of those speaking diverse languages, and having consequently no general power of aggregation. It is true that a horde of such men might be brought together under a chief to invade and conquer whole countries over which the leader became king, but it was rarely a homogeneous state or language was established after many years, as in Lydia or Etruria.

The Semite and Aryan mercenaries and invaders found a ready prey in these disintegrated communities, and as many allies as they encountered foes. The arts were, it is true, cultivated in the Iberian epoch, and it was long before the rude new-comers reached the same condition of advancement, and far longer before they surpassed it.

A great revolution in the world was produced by the Semite and Aryan establishment in the Mediterranean regions. It is the case that as vast empires even had existed in the Iberian epoch as that of the Khita and the Akkadian, and that of Egypt, but the smaller kingdoms of the later comers proved more powerful and overcame even these.

It was the introduction of Assyrian, Phœnician, Greek, and Latin as general languages, which ultimately fusing and outgrowing the local dialects, left only the few dominating languages, which became vehicles for wider oral and literal communication. The Semites and Aryans possessed languages better defined, wherein the roots had been distinctively applied to separate ideas, and thereby a better instrument of communication was obtained.

In the Iberian epoch some priest or statesman could use the general or sacred language, but otherwise each town would have at least one dialect if not more, as we still see in some parts of the East. Thus general communication was restricted, for a common language under such circumstances is not a household language, and is sometimes unknown to the women and children, as we find on our own shores in Wales.

The best idea of the previous state of these countries can be formed from the account of Canaan in the Bible, the early books of Livy, and the history of the Roman invasion of Britain. We have, however, to extend our notions of the primitive condition of disintegration far beyond these descriptions.

If we begin our continuous survey with Canaan and the neighbouring countries, although the stock of medals is small, it is enough to show that as in name, so in substance, the towns belonged to the general class, and were not in their origin Semitic. It has too this interest, that we gain in the Bible special testimony, which is in some cases contemporary and in others derived from contemporary records. The Bible statements are confirmed that the country was settled and the towns built before the entrance of the Semites, and that the people were not considered by these latter to be of the same race as themselves. We are also able to trace the decay of the local tribes, kings, languages, and mythology, and their substitution by Semitic institutions. There is also this circumstance distinctly recorded, that the Semites did not wholly extirpate the populations, but naturalized some and largely intermarried, so that a simple Semitic population was not established, but a mixed population.

In examining Asia Minor and its neighbourhood we have a rich mine of facts, and these are in accordance with our historical knowledge. We learn that the Greeks were immigrants, and gradually imposed their language and mythology on the inhabitants, as the Semites did theirs in Palestine and Assyria. We can correct or more clearly understand the loose statements of historians. While we can acknowledge that Lydians and Carians were allied, and indeed that the whole aboriginal populations were allied, there was no one language, like the Lydian, such as we should conceive it, which superseded the local dialects of the countries or of the towns. Where there is a similarity in the name of a town with Greece, it is not owing to Greek influences or colonization, as supposed, but to the relations anteriorly established. The



emblems on the medals have no relation to Greek words, but to the antecedent languages.

In consequence of later historical connection we readily associate Asia and Greece by Hellenic ties, and suppose the intercourse between them to have originated under the Herakleids or in the Hellenic epoch. This intercourse had its precedent in old times, long before the Hellenes were known in those regions. Before the Semitized Phœnicians, the Greeks, or the Carthaginians traversed the Mediterranean and visited the cities, these must have been long known to each other.

The many islands of the eastern Mediterranean are rich in their contributions to the numismatist. Even very small spots of rock struck coins, while in larger islands each of several towns had its own separate money. Thus while the collector finds choice specimens, the ethnologist obtains valuable data for colonizations, migrations, alliances, and also for correction of fabulous statements in the Greek historians. Crete is a world in itself, and so is Sicily.

When in the Greek time we find Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus marked as barbarous, we arrive by the older testimonies at the fact that originally conformable, that is barbarous, populations spread over Hellas, and thence to the Danube and along the shores of the Euxine. The population was continuous on each side of the Bosphorus.

The Hellenic immigrants made their chief seat in Hellas, and but small importance is to be attached ethnologically to their distant colonies, or more properly conquests of older Iberian colonies. In Hellas they must have been largely intermingled with the natives, but they did not greatly influence the northern regions. The Macedonian, we know, was a barbarian, and even the Roman writers record barbarous words from the Balkan peninsula. The northern populations have influenced the south, continuously sending down emigrants to Athens and to the southern peninsula and islands, streams which flow to this day. Even in remote islands the Albanian language is still to be found.



On the coins and in the names of barbarous kings we trace the influence of the ancient languages.

In Italy the Greek element was also restricted in its effect, but the earlier occupants were all non-Aryan. Many a town in Italy is identical in name and emblems with one in Asia or the islands, and the system of nomenclature is the same in the south as in Etruria. In Hellas, in Sicily, and in southern Italy, the Greeks changed the language of the people, but they left the town names as records of the past.

Beyond the Italian border to the north, the coins help us but little for illustrating the extent of the occupation, and we must have recourse to other methods.\*

In Spain the coins are the tests, which show that Carthaginian and Roman domination was but in succession to that of the Iberians, who gave to their towns the same names as in the East.

In the coin cabinet and on the map there is no breach of continuity made by the Pyrenees. Aquitania, as might be expected, is a land of Iberian affinity, but in the rest of Gaul the town names, however modified by Celtic appendages, are of the same character and endowed with the same emblems. In Gaul, in Spain, and in Helvetia, and it may be so said of Britain, the Celtic invasion did not displace the names of the main seats of population or trade, no more than did the Roman or the Germanic.

In the Belgic domain the original condition is readily traced, and this shows that the shores of the North Sea were held by the Iberians. Of the importance of these new facts in relation to the questions of the Belgians and of Britain, it is not necessary here to speak more.†

For Britain itself we have but small evidence from coins, and that less decided than with regard to the other regions, but still sufficient to inform us that the world of Britain was

\* See my paper hereafter referred to on the Ligurians, Aquitanians, and Belgians.

† In the session of 1881-2 I read before the Royal Historical Society a paper on this subject, illustrated by the coins and by philological evidence.

also an Iberian region, and that its tin and other products must have been known to the Iberians of Spain and Gaul long before they were known to the Semitic Phœnicians.

The following are illustrations of some British coins, and it is to be observed that the philological evidence is the same :—

VERULAMIUM, Cow.

*Cow*, &c., Pheræ, Perrhæbium, Pharcadon, Epirus.

CAMULO-DUNUM, Ear of Corn.

*Corn*, Camarina.

CUNO-BELINUS, Horse, Ear of Corn.

*Horse*, Pella, Pelinna, Bellindi, Pelicania, Ispalis.

*Corn*, Baelo, Illipula, Hispalis.

EPPILLUS, Horse. Horse as in the last.

CASSI-VELAUNUS, Horse, Wheel.

*Horse*, Ceos, Cassandra, Cossa.

*Wheel*, Cisiambos.

TASCIANUS, Boar.

*Boar*, Sequani, Abacænum.

With regard to the town names of Britain they conform to the general Iberian class. Thus :—

Eboracum (York) = Eburovices, Ephyrae, Pheræ, Eburones, Cibra.

Camboritum (near Cambridge) = Cambolectri, Camarina, Gambrium, Campania, Compulteria.

Mancunium (Manchester) = Mankhane, Manganur, Mekonah, Mycenæ, Acmonæ, Macunia, Migonion, Magnana.

Londinum (London) = Aluntium, Leontini.

Lindum (Lincoln) = Lindus, Alinda.

Gildas calls Geraint, the King of the Damnonii, “the accursed whelp of the Damnonian lioness.” Philologically this is one of the forms for lion, and on a coin we find it on that of Tomarena.

Cantium (Kent) belongs, perhaps, to this list. It is to be noted too that we find a horse on the coins Cæna, Canusium, Cyon, Vocontii, and Zacynthus.

It is not my purpose to enter into a dissertation on these symbols, but to point out their bearing on the early history of the Mediterranean nations, and of the ancient world. As in the examples before us we have found a solution for many difficulties, and the way of knowing what was unknown, so may we hope for the application of such facts to regions still more obscure. Of the early history of India the conception is most indistinct. There is, however, no historical boundary between India and the countries to the west. The map shows us the like river names, the like town names. We have as yet no coins to help us, as in the extension of the Iberian region across the Pyrenees to Aquitania, but the conditions are nevertheless sufficiently determined. With the clue before us we may yet unravel Indian emblems, and make our way to sources of evidence now unexpected. In one respect the examination of India can be most favourably conducted, because we find there living languages having affinities to those of ancient epicho.

India beyond the Ganges belongs, in these respects, to the domain of India, and affords us a new field of exploration.

As has been stated by me more than once,\* the languages, animal names, river names, and town names of America belong to the same class as those of the Old World. So long as the town names of either hemisphere could be relegated to the category of chance coincidence or spontaneous generation we might hesitate. We now have reached the explanation of the process on which the town names of the Old World were built up. We have sufficient proofs of the intercourse and communication, and in the legends of the four worlds,† and of the Atlantis, we have the historical tradition of the knowledge of North and South America.

The emblems most largely found on the coins are the Horse, the Bull, the Lion, the Sun, the Moon, the Fish

\* "Prehistoric and Protohistoric Comparative Philology." (Trübner), "Serpent and Siva Worship and Mythology." (Trübner, 1876.)

† "The Khita and Khita Peruvian Epoch," by Hyde Clarke (Trübner, 1877), p. 69.

(Dolphin), Grapes (Bacchus), Corn (Ceres), the Hog (Boar, Sow).

In the next rank come the Vase (Diota, Amphora), the Spear, Club (Staff, Wand, Caduceus), Bow, Quiver, the Palm, the Goat and Stag, Sheep (Ram), Dog, Owl, Eagle, Snake, Ship (Rudder), Star, Lyre.

Last in importance and rarer are the Cock, the Crab, the Wolf, the Pigeon, the Bee, the Griffin,\* the Plow, the Wheel (Cart, Biga), Triangle (Triskele), Thunder, the Tripod, the Hare or Rabbit, Frog, Leaf, Flowers, &c., Olive, Acorn, &c., Anchor, Shell, Swan, Axes, Shield, Chest, Torch, Globe, Arrow, the Elephant.

Almost singly are found the Lizard, Tortoise, Camel, Raven, Fly, Polypus, Peacock, Grasshopper, Rat, Mule, Ass, Pomegranate, Hand, Eye, Elbow, Distaff, Mask, Knife, Sword, Hammer, Net.

The Vase is common on the coins of the Greek islands, but no special reason suggests itself to me.†

In whatever form these objects appear on a medal, they are reducible by their name relation to one condition. Thus many a horse is by the die-sinker made to figure as Pegasus, but his name brings him down to a horse, whatever mythological reference may have been at some late time invented. So whether we have the Sun or Apollo (or a radiated head), the name is the same ; the Moon, the Crescent or Diana ; Grapes, or Bacchus ; Corn, or Ceres. It remains clear that the object was the original, and the god an afterthought provided by the priest or the artist. Such gods as Apollo, Diana, Bacchus, Ceres, and Vulcan can have had no original place in the primitive religion of monotheistic fetishism.

Pallas is largely found on coins, but has an evident relation

\* The Griffin appears to be the lion-winged, as Pegasus is the horse-winged.

† It is possible (for it has a philological connexion with Die) that the application of the Vase is as a funeral urn or jar. On some appropriations of this, Mr. Walhouse's paper before the Anthropological Institute, 1881, will be found very interesting.



to names, and perhaps represents the Sun or Moon. The Sun and Moon are sometimes found conjoined in the same city, and this natural representation may have been the origin of Lunus and other mythical forms.

The attention of the numismatist should be called to the observation of each object on a medal. Where a horseman appears he will be found to signify horse, while the spear in his hand also corresponds to the city name. The club singly, or with the quiver and bow, does not represent Hercules, but the name of the city. The emblems are much the same as those of the English clans or tribes that invaded Britain. (Compare names in J. P. Kemble.)

Several objects of the same name are grouped in one design. This system was found by me on other compositions besides coins, and was discovered in a gem from Cyprus, of Major di Cesnola, with the characters for Ya-pho in Cypriote and with the same in Khita. The figures represent a hunting scene with a man, lance, dog, and gazelle.\*

These last three are represented by Ya-pho. On a gem found at Menidi in Attica is a lion attacking a deer, with the Cypriote Ti, which signifies Lion and Deer. The same animals are found on the coins of Ci-ti-um in Cyprus.

The type of the animal form is the head, and this too we see in the Khita inscriptions from Hamath and Carchemish, on the boss of Tarkondemos, and in the extraordinary Moso MSS. lately brought from Western China by Captain Gill, R.E., &c.

At the hands of the Greek engravers the emblems received artistic treatment: the cart was made a biga, the horse a Pegasus, the lion or the bull was put in a particular attitude which afterwards became characteristic of the city, but which have no original authority.

In order to illustrate the manner in which cities are keyed in as it were by these emblems, those of the form B L (of my town names) are here given:—

\* There is a stag on the coins of Ephesus.

## EXAMPLE OF CONNECTION OF COINS IN A GROUP OF TOWNS.

	Bull.	Horse.	Lion.	Fish.	Sun.	Grapes.	Corn.	Number.
Baelo	B						C	3
Aballo	B				S			2
Abella	B				S			2
Pale				F				1
Pelius	B				S	Gr		3
Pella	B	H			S			3
Pylus	B			F	S			5
Pelinna		H						1
Phallanna		H		F				3
Pholegandrus	B							1
Bilban				F				1
Bellindi		H			S			2
Pelicania		H						1
Pelta			L			Gr		2
Ispalis		H		F				3
Obulco	B	H						3
Populonia			L			Gr	C	4
Velia			L					1
Illipula				F	S		C	4
Cephalædium	B					Gr		2

The Bull and Horse, with the Sun and Fish, are the chief emblems, but the others (and some not above recorded) serve also to establish the identity. Lion is given to illustrate the small participation of the class in that emblem.

The properties of language connected with these words and symbols made each sculpture, gem, and coin a kind of comparative vocabulary for the early nations, and laid the foundation of those comparative vocabularies and phonetics which have been found in the Babylonian libraries.

It can scarcely be doubted that the employment of emblems for the names of kings, men, and cities greatly promoted the adoption and application of the early hieroglyphics, and prepared the way for phonetics, syllabaries, and alphabets.

The chief characters of the leading nations appear to have been like the Khita. The hieroglyphic, the cuneiform, and

the Chinese do not preserve the original forms so well as those of the Khita class. In a paper which I sent to the Biblical Archaeological Society in 1880, and which has not yet been printed, I showed that these characters and their phonetics were derived from an older philological type. I showed too that the phonetics are still represented by living languages.\* While, since my determination of the Khita character, myself and others have been looking out for the Khita language, into which to transliterate the Hamath, Carchemish, and Asia Minor inscriptions, it appears very doubtful whether such is the true solution. That there was an official Khita may be looked upon as certain, but these monuments must have admitted of transliteration into more languages than one.

As just stated, the Cesnola gem reads in the Khita character the same as in Cypriote, Ya-pho, but then the Khita is accompanied by a gloss of a spear, dog, and gazelle, which read Ya-pho in several dialects.

From the coins, as from these gems, we find an established practice of putting names of persons and towns in phonetics in several languages simultaneously. The Tarkondemos inscription, however, appears to have only one reading.

It may be noted that on the coins of some of the local kings the names seem to be represented by symbols on the same principle as the names of the cities, of Tarkondemos, and as these names on gems.

Turning to coinage, the received history of the chronology of coinage is very unsatisfactory, and we have just grounds for expecting the discovery of data showing earlier examples and a much wider diffusion of the system. Coins were not necessarily developed from a monetary standard.

\* The isolated observations of several scholars confirm these results. A paper of mine in the *Athenæum*, and one read before the British Association at York, in 1881, on the non-Semitic origin of the Hebrew alphabet, and on its Canaanitic relations, and on the Cypriote syllabary, give detailed evidence in another direction.

It must not be supposed that the name of a town really means Lion, Bull, &c., although it may have such double meaning in various languages. A town name appears to mean King's Town in some one language,\* and the other meanings belong to other languages.

When an expedition started under a leader, being composed of ships or detachments of several tribes, it is possible that the leader gave his name to the town, and his emblem became that of the town ; then the other clans adapted the same name or a like sound to some animal or object in their language, and thus likewise furnished a local standard.

We find also one emblem extending over a large district, as a horse in Macedonia, or an owl in Attica, but it had a different name in each town. While such emblem may be regarded as distinctive of a confederacy, it shows the presence of populations of various language.

Although in showing the true meaning of the boss and name of Tarkondemos, it was stated by me to signify Bull and Lion, I am not sure that these were strictly totems, as then supposed by me.

In the tables which are given with this paper no philological evidence is shown, but they were originally framed on such evidence as that I have so many times indicated (Koelle, &c.), and this afforded the means for making with safety the subsequent comparisons. It is in this way alone the results could have been obtained, because the words take many forms, and the emblems determine the relations of the roots.

We find such a series as Cissa, Cos, Ceos, Cius, Chios, Phoea, Phocis, Argesa, Cyzicus, Cossa, Ausa, Assos, Issa, Ios, Iasus, Suessa, Ossanoba, Axus, Syracusa, Cassandra, Cassope, Équæsia, Osca, Naxus (2), Nicæa, Nagidus. All these are allied forms, and there are many others not illustrated by coins.

In the preparation of the present list the matter has been three times gone over and written, but much has yet to be done.

In my detailed lists of town names, already referred to, it

\* As is natural to such languages, King=Lion and other animal names.



was very difficult to determine what forms ought really to be compared. In my tables the names will be found classified by roots, as BR, KS, &c., but I knew that many of the words were obscured by prefixes and foreign forms. In my papers on river names,\* it was pointed out how roots are varied by the ancient prefixes and determinants, M, S, D. Town names are compounded or varied by Hebrew, Phœnician, Greek, Latin, Celtic, &c., terminations.

On looking at any of my old tables and comparing them with the present, it will be found that the system and general results were conformable to facts. To say nothing of the identity of the Megaras, of Salamis, &c., there are Miletus and Melita, Methymna and Methene, Priene and Perinthus, Petalia and Pautalia, Rhodus and Aradus, Eleousa and Alyzia. If the important groups of Assos, &c. (p. 52, "Khita and Khita Peruvian Epoch"), of Tenedos, &c. (p. 55), of Aballo, &c. (p. 46), are examined, it will be found how completely the connection is established by the coins quoted in this present paper.

Thus the fuller lists of town names in the earlier papers† become in fact appendices to this paper, and under this light there can be no reasonable doubt that the body of Canaanite and Syrian names quoted as much belong to the general series as Tyrus, Sidon, Aradus, Damascus, or any other name for which illustrative coins exist. A like illustration is afforded for India‡ and America, as already pointed out.

\* Society of Antiquaries, &c.

† See Khita Epoch, in Transactions of Royal Historical Society.

‡ Compare such names as, Limyrica (= Limyra), Masalia (Massilia, &c.), Muziris (Mazara, Mastaura, Amastris), Pityada (Peithusa, Pitane), Chalcitis (Chalcis [2], Chalcedon), Cottiara (Cotiæum), Larici (Laricum, Larinum, Larissa[3]), Barygaza (Bargasa), Bastana (Byzantium, Poestum, Phæstus), Pattala (Pautalia, Petelia, Podalia), Coria, Carura (Carrhæ, Caura, Caronium, Carinæa, Corone, Carissa, Charisia), Caspira (Cyparissa, Cybistra, Cypsela, Cassope), Calliene (Colone, Calymna, Calynda, Cales, Callet, Callatia), Simylla (Simyra, Saminthus), Sora (Sora, Saralium, Sarala), Sagida (Segesta, Saguntum, Sacora), Sibi (Sibaria, Sabora), Ozone (Æzani).

The cases of original compound words do not appear to be many, the compounds chiefly depending on foreign appendages. There can be no doubt that Syracuse and Cossoura, Sicilia and Sardinia, are made to represent compounds with the numeral 3. This leaves obscure the relation of Sardinia, which has a great resemblance to Britannia, and the river names in R D N.\* Nia, there can be small doubt, is country, land, and is an appendage. The word may be Sardin, and the S is a prefix to R D N. It was phonetically represented by three ears, or blades of corn, Sara-din or Sar-din, as Syracuse, &c., by three legs.

It will be noticed that the digamma comes out in some of the words. One cause of variation in transliteration is that the Greek and Latin could not represent the sh and ch sounds preserved in other transliterations.

TABLE OF CITIES, OF COMMON NAMES, AND COINS.†

Tarentum	Tauromenium	Tanagra	Tenedos.
Turones	Thyrrium	Tenos	Tanos.
Abdera	Atarneæ	Itanus	Teanum.
Aptera	Theræ	Tyana	
		Adana	Catana.
Eretria	Andros	Tylissus	Alyzea.
		Thalassa	Alæsa.
Lipara	Libora	Gelas	
Oropus	Berytus		
Compulteria	Panticapæum	Celenderis	Corcyra.
Phenicapæa	Capua		
Cibyra	Cabira		
Camarina	Cyme, Pergamus, Cumæ	Luceria	Cartago.
Apollonia	Abella		
Aballo	Pylus	Gaulos	Egurri.
Populonia	Pelius	Macella	Megara.
Pella	Obulco	Megara	Magnesia.
Munda	Motna	Samos	Same.
		Samosata	Samothrace.

\* See my Paper on Britannia, read before the Society of Antiquaries, 8 June, 1871.

† See Cissa, &c., in the text.

Metapontum	Helmantica	Samnites	Clazomenæ.
Salentini	Soli-mariaca	Chalcis	Chalcedon.
Sollium	Salapia	Calacte	Calatia.
			Colophon.
Cœna	Caunus		
Ægina	Cyon	Enna	Senones.
Athenæ	Cythus	Æna	Ænia.
Cydonia	Cydna	Pheneus	Æniane.
Arsinoe	Arsi	Melos	Malienses.
		Gades	Leukadia.
		Thospia	Thespiæ.
Olus	Ulia		
	Alabanda	Rhodus	Aradus.
		Phistella	Pœstum.
		Byzantium	Phæstus.
Corinth	Caronium	Picentia	Peithesa.
Carystos			
		Larissa	Larinum.
Croton	Crannon	Damascus	Damastium.
	Cranium		
Cragus	Acrasus		
Orra	Orippe	Beneventum	Panormus.
Oricus			

## TABLE OF CITIES, WITH THEIR COINS AND EMBLEMS.

SAMOSATA, Syria.	Apollo, Lion.
	<i>Sun</i> , Same, Samnites.
	<i>Lion</i> , Samos, Smyrna.
CHALCIS, Syria.	Diana, Bow, Quiver.
	<i>Moon</i> , Phygela.
	<i>Bow</i> , Callatia.
	<i>Quiver</i> , „
GABALA, Syria.	Crab, Crescent, Star.
	<i>Moon</i> , Capua.
LARISSA, Syria.	Horse.
	<i>Horse</i> , Larissa.
RHOSUS, Syria.	Harpa.
	<i>Harpa</i> , Larissa.

DAMASCUS, Syria. Sun, Moon, Bacchus.

*Sun*, Damastium, Medama, Tomarena.

*Moon*, Amestratus.

*Grapes*, Tomi.

LEUCAS, Syria. Bee.

BANIAS, Syria, Ituræa. Apollo, Diana, Dove.

*Sun*, Panormus, Beneventum.

*Moon*, Pheneus, Avenio.

BERYTUS, Phœnicia.\* Ship, Club, Star.

*Ship*, Libora, Barium.

*Club*, Berytis.

*Star*, Paros.

MARATHUS, Phœnicia. Apollo, Palm.

*Sun*, Rhodus.

*Palm*, „

SIDON, Phœnicia. Bull, Eagle, Bacchus, Vase.

*Bull*, Tyana.

*Eagle*, Tanos.

*Grapes*, Tenedos.

*Vase*, Etenna.

TYRUS, Phœnicia. Ship, Owl, Fish, Eagle.

*Ship*, Thera.

*Fish*, „

*Eagle*, Tarsus.

*Owl*, Thyrrium.

ARADUS, Island, Phœnicia. Ship, Palm.

*Ship*, Rhodus.

*Palm*, „

ACE (Ptolemais), Palestine. Apollo.

*Sun*, Ægæ.

ANTHEDON, Palestine. Ship.

*Ship*, Athens.

ASKALON, Palestine. Palm, Ship, Eagle.

*Ship*, Calymna, Chalcis.

SECHEM (Neapolis), Palestine, Palm.

*Palm*, Segobriga.

\* The history of the colonization of the Syrian and Phœnician regions will be found to come out clearly.



CARRHX, Mesopotamia. Sun, Moon, Star.

*Sun*, Charissa, Coresia.

*Moon*, Caura.

*Star*, Coresia.

CYRENE, Africa. Horse, Stag, Diana, Star, Bacchus, Sun.\*

*Horse*, Corone, Corinth.

*Stag*, Caulonia.

*Moon*, Caura, Carrhx.

*Star*, Coresia.

*Grapes*, Corcyra.

*Sun*, „

CARTHAGE, Africa. Horse, Palm, Lion, Goat.

*Horse* (as for Cyrene).

*Palm*, Carystos.

*Lion*, Cardia.

*Goat*, Agyrium.

PHANAGORIA, Bosphorus Cimmerius. Bow and Arrow.

AMASIA, Pontus. Quiver, Helmet.

AMISUS, Pontus. Quiver, Bow, Helmet.

*Quiver*, Amastris.

*Helmet*, Tomesa, Mesembria.

PIMOLISA, Pontus. Quiver.

LEUKE, King of Pontus. Bow, Club.

*Bow*, Luceria.

*Club*, Lacedæmon.

CHABACTA, Pontus. Apollo, Horse.

*Sun*, Phocis.

*Horse*, „

CAZIOURA, Pontus. Helmet.

*Helmet*, Cossura.

AMASTRIS, Paphlagonia. Quiver, Helmet.

*Quiver*, Amasia, Amisus.

*Helmet*, „ „

MASTIA, Paphlagonia. Quiver, Helmet.

*Quiver*, Amasia, Amisus.

*Helmet*, „ „

\* Although an attempt is made here at a geographical arrangement, such is not wholly practicable. By accident Mesopotamia and Africa are brought together.

SINOPE, Paphlagonia. Wheel, Eagle, Lyre, Bull, Fish, Bow.

*Wheel*, Synnada.

*Eagle*, „

*Bull*, Senones, Libisona, Byzantium.

*Fish*, Libisona, Byzantium.

*Bow*, Asine.

PYLÆMENES, King of Pontus. Bull.

*Bull*, Pylus, Pelius, &c.

ALYATTA, Bithynia. Helmet, Lyre.

*Helmet*, Lete.

*Lyre*, Melita.

BITHYNIUM, Bithynia. Bacchus.

*Grapes*, Bisanthe.

CHALCEDON, Bithynia. Bull, Corn, Wheel, Apollo.

*Bull*, Cales, Macella.

*Corn*, Callatia, Callet.

*Wheel*, Chalcis.

*Sun*, „

CIUS, Bithynia. Apollo, Ship, Bow, Club.\*

*Sun*, Axus, Ucetia, Phocis.

*Ship*, Cissa.

*Bow*, „

*Club*, Cos.

CRATIA, Bithynia. Apollo.

*Sun*, Cardia.

DIA, Bithynia. Grapes.

*Grapes*,† Teos.

NICÆA, Bithynia. Vase, Grapes, Caduceus.

*Vase*, Naxos.

*Grapes*, „

*Caduceus*, Nysa.

TIUM, Bithynia. Spear.

*Spear*, Ætæi.

\* In this as in other cases the number of examples is limited in order to save space in printing. Therefore the connection of a group is never fully illustrated, nor its distribution.

† The philological parallel to Grape is Bean, and they are mythologically connected.

- ANTANDRUS, Mysia. Palm, Owl, Vase.  
*Owl*, Catana, Athens.  
*Vase*, Athens, Anthedon, Andros.
- ASSUS, Mysia. Bull, Vase, Grapes.  
*Bull*, Asido. -  
*Vase*, Ausa.  
*Grapes*, Issa.
- ATARNEA, Mysia. Apollo, Horse.  
*Sun*, Teronium, Aptera, Tauromenium, Turones.  
*Horse*, Tauromenium, Turones.
- CISTHENA, Mysia. Ceres, Horse.  
*Corn*, Cyzicus.  
*Horse*, Cissa, &c.
- CYZICUS, Mysia. Lion, Fish, Calf, Corn, Bacchus, Torch.  
*Lion*, Cissa.  
*Fish*, „  
*Ox*, Cassope.  
*Corn*, Cisthena.  
*Grapes*, Cassope.  
*Torch*, Chios.
- GERGITHUS, Mysia. Apollo.  
*Sun*, Corcyra, Coresia.
- LAMPACUS, Mysia. Horse, Apollo, Bacchus, Vase.  
*Horse*, Salapia.  
*Sun*, „  
*Grapes*, Lamia.  
*Vase*, „
- PARIUM, Mysia. Bull, Goat, Vase, Grapes, Corn.  
*Bull*, Epirus, Barea, Pheræ, Perinthus.  
*Goat*, Parus, Pharus.  
*Vase*, „ „  
*Grapes*, Perinthus.  
*Corn*, „
- PERGAMUS, Mysia. Bull, Cista, Vase, Bowcase.  
*Bull*, Cumæ.  
*Bow*, „  
*Vase*, Cyme.
- PERPERENE, Mysia. Grapes.  
*Grapes*, Parium.

PIONIA, Mysia. Horse.

*Horse*, Panormus.

PÆMANENI, Mysia. Thunderbolt.

PRIAPUS, Mysia. Apollo, Bull, Corn.

*Sun*, Peparethus.

*Bull*, Perinthus.

*Corn*, „

ABYDUS, Troad. Apollo, Anchor.

*Sun*, Bottiæa.

*Anchor*, Vetulonia.

AMAXITUS, Troad. Lyre, Apollo.

*Lyre*, Amastris.

*Sun*, Macella.

ARISBA, Troad. Corn.

*Corn*, Rubastini.

BERYTIS, Troad. Crescent, Club.

*Moon*, Sybaris.

*Club*, Berytus.

DARDANUS, Troad. Cock, Horse, Snake.

*Cock*, Terina.

*Horse*, Tyndaris.

*Snake*, Epidaurus.

CENTINUS, Troad. Bee.

*Bee*, Cythnus.

NEANDRIA, Troad. Grapes, Corn.\*

*Grapes*, Andros.

*Corn*, Athens.

OPHRYNIIUM, Troad. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Perperena, Proni.

SCEPSIS, Troad. Horse.

*Horse*, Ipsus.

SIGÆUM, Troad. Crescent.

*Moon*, Segovia.

TERIA, Troad. Apollo.

*Sun*, Teronium, Thyrræa.

\* The first syllable here may be Neos, Nea, but the Andria is illustrated by the symbols.



THEBE, Troad. Horse, Ceres.

*Horse*, Ubii.

*Corn*, Sætabis.

ZÆLEIA, Troad. Corn.\*

*Corn*, Eleusis.

TENEDOS, Island, Troad. Axe, Lyre, Owl, Grapes.

*Spear*, Tenos.

*Lyre*, Tanagra.

*Owl*, Athens, Atinum.

*Grapes*, Tanagra.

ÆGÆ, Æolis.† Apollo.

*Sun*, Axus.

*Goat*, Ægæ.

CYME, Æolis. Horse, Vase (Cista).

*Horse*, Camerina.

*Vase*, Pergamus.

ELÆA, Æolis. Ceres.

*Corn*, Hyla, Lælia.

LARISSA, Æolis. Grapes, Vase.

*Grapes*, Issa.

*Vase*, „

MYRHINA, Æolis. Apollo.

*Sun*, Amorgos.

ERESUS, Lesbos. Ceres.

*Corn*, Syros.

METHYMNA, Lesbos. Boar, Lyre, Apollo, Fish, Bacchus.

*Hog*, Mantinea.

*Lyre*, Mitylene.

*Sun*, „

*Fish*, Munda.

*Grapes*, Mitylene.

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\* It will be noticed how rich the Troad is in these coins and forms. It was the Troad first taught me that its first inhabitants were non-Hellenic. It is in this fact, which preceded Schliemann's excavations, that the real relevance of his discoveries is to be found. They are practically non-Homeric, and the Iliad does not illustrate them. Pergamus is a name to be included here.

† Æolis in this case does not represent a true ethnological or geographical territory.

MITYLENE, Lesbos. Sun, Grapes, Lyre.

*Sun*, See above.

*Grapes*, „ „

*Lyre*, „ „

NAPI, NASI, Lesbos. Bull, Leopard, Apollo.\*

*Bull*, Sinope.

*Leopard*, Nesus.

*Sun*, Anaphe.

CLAZOMENÆ, Ionia. Lion, Ram, Apollo.

*Lion*, Samos, Samosata.

*Sun*, Same, Samosata.

*Ram*, Same, Samothrace.

COLOPHON, Ionia. Lyre, Apollo.

*Lyre*, Chalcis, Chalcedon.

*Sun*, Chalcis.

EPHESUS, Ionia. Diana, Bee, Stag, Torch, Palm.

*Moon*, Phæstrus, Pæstum, Vestini.

*Bee*, Anaphe.

*Torch*, Caphya.

*Stag* (see the account of the Yapho gem).

ERYTHRÆ, Ionia. Owl, Bee, Bow, Quiver, Corn.

*Owl*, Thyrea.

*Bee*, Aptera.

*Bow*, Abdera, Eretria.

*Quiver*, „ „

*Corn*, Eretria.

GAMBRIUM, Ionia. Bull, Apollo.

*Bull*, Cuma, Compulteria, Ambracia.

*Sun*, Compulteria, Ambracia.

LEBEDUS, Ionia. Owl.

*Owl*, Pydna.

MAGNESIA, Ionia. Bull, Sun.

*Bull*, Megara.

*Sun*, „

MILETUS, Ionia. Apollo, Lion, Ship.

*Sun*, Mytilena.

*Lion*, Milyas.

*Ship*, Lyttus.

\* This name has two philological forms, and both are illustrated.

PHOCEA, Ionia. Dog, Fish, Lion.

PHYGELA, Ionia. Bull, Diana.

*Bull*, Macella.

*Moon*, Gaulos, Chalcis.

PRIENE, Ionia. Bull.

*Bull*, Perinthus.

SMYRNA (=Samorna), Ionia. Lion.\*

*Lion*, Samos, Samosata, Clazomenæ.

TEOS, Ionia. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Dia.

CHIOS, Island, Ionia. Lion, Vase, Ship, Bacchus, Apollo.

*Lion*, Cissa.

*Vase*, „

*Ship*, „

*Grapes*, Cassope.

*Sun*, Cius.

IKARIA, Island, Ionia. Spear.

*Spear*, Caronium, Corinth.

PATMOS, Island, Ionia. Vase.

SAMOS, Island, Ionia. Lion, Bull.

*Lion*, Samosata, Clazomenæ, Smyrna.

*Bull*, Samnites, Samnogenses.

ABA, Caria. Thunderbolt.

*Thunderbolt*, Abacænum.

ALABANDA, Caria. Horse, Apollo.

*Horse*, Alba, Ælis.

*Sun*, Alæsa.

*Eagle*, „

ALINDA, Caria. Club.

*Club*, Lyttus.

BARGASA, Caria. Bacchus.

*Grapes*, Cassope, Assos.

BARGYLIA, Caria. Horse.

*Horse*, Agyrium.

CALYNDA, Caria. Eagle.

*Eagle*, Ascalon.

\* This form of name is most likely connected with Sumir, Sumerian.

CAUNUS, Caria. Bull.

*Bull*, Abacænum, Æna.

CERAMUS, Caria. Eagle.

*Eagle*, Euromus.

CNIDUS, Caria. Lion.

*Lion*, Acanthus.

CYON, Caria. Horse.

*Horse*, Vocontii, Æna.

EUROMUS, Caria. Eagle.

*Eagle*, Ceramus.

HALICARNASSUS, Caria. Trident.

*Trident*, Cnossus.

PHANES,\* Halicarnassus.

*Stag*, Enna (Goat).

*Panormus* (Sheep).

IASUS, Caria. Apollo, Fish.

*Sun*, Axius, Chios.

*Fish*, Ossanoba, Cissa.

MYLASA, Caria. Horse, Partisan, Eagle.

*Horse*, Miletus.

*Spear*, Alyzea, Thalassa.

*Eagle*, Alæsa.

NYSA, Caria. Bacchus, Caduceus.

*Grapes*, Nicæa.

*Caduceus*, „

ORTHOSIA, Caria. Bacchus.

*Grapes*, Thasus.

TABA, Caria, Vase.

*Vase*, Thebes.

TELEMISSUS, Caria. Sun.

*Sun*, Delos, Thelpusa, Atella, Eutella, &c.

COS, Island, Caria. Crab, Snake, Wand, Apollo.

*Snake*, Cassope.

*Wand*, Cius.

*Sun*, „

\* It bears the inscription, "I am the sign of Phanes."



RHODUS, Island, Caria. Sun, Bacchus, Ship, Palm.

*Sun*, Teronium (D.R.).

*Grapes*, Terone.

*Ship*, Aradus.

*Palm*, „

ASTYRA, Rhodes. Sun, Vase.

*Sun*, Asta, Assorus.

*Vase*, Assus.

IALYSUS, Rhodes. Boar.

*Hog*, Eleusis, Lytta.

MEGISTE, Rhodes. Sun.\*

*Sun*, Magnesia, Megara (2), Macella.

TELOS, Island, Caria. Crab.

*Crab*, Terina.

APERLA, Lycia. Three legs.

*Triangle*, Berytus.

APOLLONIA, Lycia. Diana, Stag.†

*Moon*, Apollonia.

*Stag*, Peltæ (Phalanna, Goat).

BALBURA, Lycia. Apollo, Corn.

*Sun*, Aballo.

*Corn*, Baelo.

CRAGUS, Lycia. Rose.

*Rose*, Rhodus.

CYDNA, Lycia. Apollo, Lyre.

*Sun*, Xanthus.

*Lyre*, „

CYANEA, Lycia. Sun, Lyre.

*Sun*, Cydna.

*Lyre*, „

LIMYRA, Lycia. Apollo, Lyre.

*Sun*, Miletus.

*Lyre*, Myrhina, Melita, Olympus.

MASSICYTES, Lycia. Sun, Lyre.

*Lyre*, Amaxitus.

\* Although this word has a Greek form, the symbol decides its relation.

† Apollonia here appears to have nothing to do with Apollo.

OLYMPUS, Lycia. Apollo, Lyre, Thunder.

*Sun*, Lampsacus.

*Lyre*, Lapithæ.

*Thunder*, Limyra.

PATARA, Lycia. Sun, Lyre.

*Sun*, Pautalia, Podalia, Petelia.

PODALIA, Lycia. Sun, Bow, Quiver.

*Sun*, Pautalia, Petelia.

*Bow*, Tlos.

*Quiver*, „

PHASELIS, Lycia. Boar, Apollo.

*Boar*, Amphissa, Vascones.

RHODIA, Lycia. Apollo, Lyre.

*Sun*, Rhodus.

TLOS, Lycia. Apollo, Lyre, Bow.

*Sun*, Delos.

*Bow*, Podalia.

*Quiver*, „

TRABALA, Lycia. Apollo, Bow, Quiver.

*Sun*, Aballo.

XANTHUS, Lycia.\* Apollo, Lyre, Bow.

*Sun*, Cydna.

*Lyre*, Acanthus, Cythnus, Cydna.

*Bow*, Lacanatis.

ASPENDUS, Pamphylia. Bull, Lion, Triskele, Shield.

*Bull*, Pheneus.

*Shield*, Opuntii.

ETENNA, Pamphylia. Knife, Vase, Snake.

*Knife*, Tenedos (Hatchet).

*Vase*, Athens.

*Snake*, „

ISINDUS, Pamphylia. Diana, Corn, Quiver.

*Moon*, Sandalium, Byzantium.

*Corn*, Messana, Byzantium.

*Quiver*, Byzantium.

\* As there have been many discussions about the Lycian language, it is interesting to see that Lycia was colonized by the same populations as the other regions.

- MAGYDUS, Pamphylia. Apollo.  
*Sun, Megista, Amaxitus.*
- PERGA, Pamphylia. Bacchus, Diana.  
*Grapes, Parium.*  
*Moon, Bargasa.*
- SIDE, Pamphylia. Fish, Owl.  
*Fish, Asido.*  
*Owl, Synnada.*
- SANDALIUM, Pamphylia. Crescent.  
*Moon, Isindus, Byzantium.*
- TERMESSUS, Pamphylia. Horse.  
*Horse, Amestratus, Mostene.*
- CONANE, Pisidia. Grapes, Apollo.  
*Grapes, Myconos.*
- MILYAS, Pisidia. Lion.  
*Lion, Miletus.*
- SAGA-LASSUS, Pisidia. Grapes, Corn, Goat.  
*Corn, Lalassis.*  
*Goat, Selge (Stag).*
- SELGE, Pisidia. Thunderbolt, Stag, Lance, Bow.  
*Stag, Saga-lassus (Goat).*  
*Lance, Segovia.*  
*Bow, Segeste.*
- TITYASSUS, Pityassus, Pisidia. Boar.
- LALASSIS, Isauria. Corn.  
*Corn, Eleusis, Saga-lassus.*
- ADANA, Cilicia. Horse.  
*Horse, Ætnæi, Catana.*
- ÆGÆ, Cilicia. Horse, Goat.  
*Horse, Cissa, Ceos, Agyrium.*  
*Goat, Ægæ.*
- CELENDERIS, Cilicia. Apollo, Lyre, Goat, Horse, Apollo.  
*Sun, Chalcis.*  
*Lyre, „*  
*Sun, Celenderis.*
- ISSUS (Alexandria ad Issum), Cilicia. Bacchus.  
*Grapes, Issa.*
- LACANATIS, Cilicia. Lyre, Corn.  
*Lyre, Acanthus, Cythnus.*  
*Corn, Myconos.*

MALLUS, Cilicia. Lion, Bull, Helmet.

*Lion*, Miletus, Milyas.

*Helmet*, Pimolisa.

MOPSUESTIA, Cilicia. Sun.

*Sun*, Sestus.

NAGIDUS, Cilicia. Bacchus.

*Grapes*, Naxos, Nicæa.

CALYCADNUS (Seleucia ad Calycadnum), Cilicia. Apollo, Horse.

*Sun*, Celenderis.

*Horse*, „

SELINUS, Cilicia. Diana.

*Moon*, Soli.

SOLI, Cilicia. Diana.

*Moon*, Solinus.

TARSUS, Cilicia.\* Apollo, Eagle, Lion, Bull, Grapes.

*Sun*, Patara.

*Eagle*, Tyrus.

*Lion*, Abdera.

*Bull*, „

*Grapes*, „

ELÆOUSA, Island, Cilicia. Bee.

*Bee*, Ialysus.

PAPHOS, Cyprus. Apollo.

*Sun*, Eubæa.

SALAMIS, Cyprus. Bull, Ram, Ship.

*Bull*, Salamis.

CITIUM, Cyprus. Lion, Stag, Ram.

*Lion*, Cetai.

CLEIS, Island, Cyprus. Eagle.†

*Eagle*, Chalcis, Calynda.

ANINESIUM, Lydia. Horse.

*Horse*, Ænæ.

BRIULA, Lydia. Apollo, Lion.

\* As Cilicia is supposed by some to have been first peopled by Semites, it is of interest to find that this was not so.

† Here is another example of a Greek form for an Iberian word. Eagle was not appropriated to Cleis by Greeks.



CAYSTRIANI, Lydia. Lion, Club.

*Lion*, Cissa.

*Club*, Cos.

NICÆA (Cilbii), Lydia. Leopard, Bacchus.

*Leopard*, Nisus.

*Grapes*, Nysa.

CEÆTI (Cilbii), Lydia. Sun.

*Sun*, Cotiæum.

MAGNESIA AD SIPYLUM, Lydia. Bull.

*Bull*, Macedonia.

MASTAURA, Lydia. Sun.

*Sun*, Astyra.

MOSSINA, Lydia. Sun, Corn.

*Sun*, Amestratus.

*Corn*, Messana.

MOSTENE, Lydia. Corn, Horse.

*Corn*, Messana.

*Horse*, Termessus, Amestratus.

NACRASA, Lydia. Snake.

*Snake*, Agrigontum.

PACTOLEI, Lydia. Apollo.

*Sun*, Pautalia, Pedalia, Petelia.

SÆTTENI, Lydia. Bacchus.

*Grapes*, Cisthene.

SARDIS, Lydia. Corn.

*Corn*, Sardinia.

SILANDUS, Lydia. Lion.

*Lion*, Alinda.

TEMENE, Thyrae, Lydia. Lion.

*Lion*, Abdera.

THYATIRA, Lydia. Bull, Diana.

*Bull*, Eretria.

*Moon*, „

THYASSUS, Lydia. Lance.

*Lance*, Thalassa.

TOMARENA, Lydia. Lion.

*Lion*, Himera.

- TRALLES, Lydia.\* Grapes.  
*Grapes*, Trælium.
- ACMONIA, Phrygia. Thunder.  
*Thunder*, Pœmaneni.
- ÆZANIS, Phrygia. Sun.  
*Sun*, Bisanthe.
- ALIA, Phrygia. Corn, Spear.  
*Corn*, Elæa, Hyla.
- AMORUM, Phrygia. Globe.  
*Globe*, Amorgos.
- ANCYRA, Phrygia. Bacchus.  
*Grapes*, Tanagra.
- ATTUDA, Phrygia. Vase.  
*Vase*, Anthedo.
- CIBYRA, Phrygia. Horse, Bull, Lion, Helmet.  
*Horse*, Libora.  
*Bull*, Barea, Sybaris, Cephallædium.  
*Lion*, Cabell o.  
*Helmet*, Cabira.
- CLANUDDA, Phrygia. Apollo.  
*Sun*, Cleone.
- COLOSSÆ, Phrygia. Sun, Spear.  
*Sun*, Chalcis.  
*Spear*, „
- COTIÆUM, Phrygia. Sun.  
*Sun*, Cætæi.
- EPICTETUS, Phrygia. Apollo, Horse.  
*Sun*, Chabacta.  
*Horse*, „
- EUCARPIA, Phrygia. Moon, Bull.  
*Moon*, Caura.  
*Bull*, Acarnania.
- IPSUS, Phrygia. Horse.  
*Horse*, Scepsis.
- NACOLEA, Phrygia. Apollo.  
*Sun*, Colossæ.

\* It is in Lydia we find Khita inscriptions and forms of dress resembling the Etruscan, according to the ancient tradition of common origin. The coins confirm this philologically and historically.

PELTÆ, Phrygia. Lion, Stag, Bacchus.

*Stag*, Apollonia, Populonia.

*Grapes*, Pelius, Populonia.

PHILOMELIUM, Phrygia. Sun, Moon.

*Sun*, Pelius.

*Moon*, Populonia.

SALA, Phrygia. Helmet.

*Helmet*, Saricha.

SYNNADA, Phrygia. Vase.

*Vase*, Canusium.

SARICHA, Cappadocia.

*Helmet*, Sala.

TYANA, Cappadocia. Bull, Horse, Spear.

*Bull*, Catana.

*Horse*, Adana.

*Spear*, Itanus.

PANTICAPEUM, Chersonesus.\* Lion, Bull, Horse, Apollo.

*Lion*, Capua, Cabellio, Cibyra.

*Bull*, Campania, Compulteria.

*Horse*, Cambolectri.

*Sun*, Compulteria.

CALLATIA, Mœsia.† Lion, Bow, Club, Ceres, Fish.

*Lion*, Cælium.

*Bow*, Calymna.

*Club*, Deceleia.

*Corn*, Callet, Chalcedon.

*Fish*, Caura, &c.

TOMI, Mœsia. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Damascus.

ABDERA, Thrace. Bull, Vase.

*Bull*, Tarraco, Thera, Tauromenium, Dyrrhachium, Thyatira.

*Vase*, Tauromenium, Astyra.

ÆNUS, Thrace. Goat.

*Goat*, Enna.

\* The form of this word suggests a Greek origin ; but the root is the latter part, and the symbols are too numerous to leave any doubt.

† Like the last example we have here evidence of the wide extension of the Iberian colonies.

BISANTHE, Thrace. Owl, Apollo, Corn, Bacchus.

*Owl*, Azetini, &c.

*Corn*, „ „

*Sun*, Æzani.

*Grapes*, Byzantium.

BIZYA, Thrace. Bacchus, Corn.

*Grapes*, Bisanthe.

*Corn*, „

BYZANTIUM, Thrace. Ship, Fish, Trident, Quiver, Bull, Crescent,  
Grapes, Ceres.

*Fish*, Libisona, Sinope.

*Trident*, Trœzene.

*Quiver*, Isindus.

*Bull*, Buxentum, Phæstus, Pœstum, Libisona.

*Moon*, Sandalium, Isindus, Pœstum.

*Corn*, Bisanthe, Isindus, Messana.

*Grapes*, Bisanthe, Bizya.

CYPSELA, Thrace. Vase, Corn.

*Corn*, Hispalis.

MARONEA, Thrace. Grapes, Horse, Ram.

*Grapes*, Merusia.

*Horse*, Melita.

MESEMBRIA, Thrace. Helmet, Shield.

*Helmet*, Temesa.

PAUTOLIA, Thrace. Bull, Sun.

*Sun*, Atella, Entella, Petelia.

PERINTHUS, Thrace.\* Club, Bull.

*Club*, Libora.

*Bull*, Barea, Sybaris.

ÆGOS, Thracian Chersonese. Horse.

CARDIA (Kardia), Thracian Chersonese. Vase, Lion, Corn.

*Lion*, Ossicerda.

*Corn*, Carmo.

SESTUS, Thracian Chersonese. Sun.

*Sun*, Asta.

\* Upon Thrace many discussions have taken place. The favoured notion is that the Thracians were Aryans, but this is settled by the plain facts, that they were not.



SAMOTHRACE, Island, near Thrace. Ram.

*Ram*, Same.

THASUS, Island, Thrace. Bacchus, Ship, Vase, Club, Bow.

*Grapes*, Assos, Issa, Naxos (s).

*Ship*, Cissa.

*Vase*, Cissa, Issa, Naxos.

*Club*, Cos.

*Bow*, Cissa.

SABIAS, King of Thrace. Corn.

CAVARUS, King of Thrace. Corn.

*Corn*, Capua.

DYRRHACHIUM, Illyria. Cow, Horse.

This coin must really be equivalent to those of the Adarkon, or Tarkon, and Tarraco.

*Horse*, Tauromenium, Tarentum, Turiaso, Turones, &c.

LISSOS, Illyria.\* Goat.

*Goat*, Issa, Tylissus, Saga-Iassus.

ISSA, Island, Illyria. Vase, Star, Goat.

*Vase*, Cissa, Ceos, Chios, Naxos, Ausa, Thasus.

*Star*, Asido.

*Grape*, Assos, Naxos.

*Goat*, Lissus.

PHARUS, Island, Illyr'a. Goat, Vase, Corn.

*Goat*, Paros, Pyranthus.

*Vase*, Paros.

*Corn*, Libora.

MACEDONIA. Horse.

ACANTHUS, Macedonia. Bull, Lion, Lyre.

These are the same emblems as on the coins of the Khita Tarkon of Lydia and on those of Sardis.

For Bull and Lion, see Tarkon.

For Lion, see Cænicenses.

*Lyre*, Xanthus.

ÆNIA, Macedonia. Bull, Diana.

*Bull*, Æna, Caunos.

\* On the interesting question of the populations of these regions, we have to conclude that this coast of the Adriatic was also Iberian.

CASSANDREA (and Cassander, King), Macedonia. Horse, Palm.

*Horse*, Cossa, Cissa, Syracuse, &c.

*Palm*, Sueasa, Ausa.

CHALCIS, Macedonia. Lyre.

*Lyre*, Chalcidon, Calymnos, Colophon.

EDESSA, Macedonia. Goat.

*Goat*, Thessalonica.\*

MENDE, Macedonia. Grapes, Dog.

*Grapes*, Methymna.

*Dog*, Motna.

ORTHAGORIA, Macedonia. Diana.

*Moon*, Egurii, Caura.

OSSA, Macedonia. Horse.

*Horse*, Cossa, Equæsia, Cissa, &c.

PELLA, Macedonia. Sun, Bull, Horse, Lyre.

*Sun*, Pylus, Pelius, Abella, Aballo, &c.

*Bull*, Abella, Aballo, Obulco.

*Horse*, Obulco.

PHILA, Macedonia. Vase.

PYDNA, Macedonia. Owl, Diana.

*Owl*, Lebedus.

PYTHIUM, Macedonia. Horse.

*Horse*, Pautalia.

SCIONE, Macedonia. Pigeon.

*Pigeon*, Sicyon.

SCOTTUSSA, Macedonia. Grapes, Helmet.

*Grapes*, Osset, Assos.

*Helmet*, Cossura.

TERONE, Macedonia. Grapes, Vase.

*Grapes*, Orra.

*Vase*, Tauromenium, Abdera.

THESSALONICA, Macedonia. Horse, Bull, Goat.

*Horse*, Thessali.

*Goat*, Edessa.

TRALIUM, Macedonia. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Tralles.

\* The name was afterwards changed to the Greek translation of Ægæ or Ægæ.

- TYRISSA, Macedonia.\* Apollo.  
*Sun*, Tauromenium, Turones.
- THESSALIA, Horse.  
*Horse*, Thessalonica.
- ÆNIANA, Thessaly. Vase.  
*Vase*, Anaphe.
- ARGESA, Thessaly. Fish.  
*Fish*, Cissa, Syracuse.
- ATRAX, Thessaly. Bull, Horse.  
*Bull*, Dyrrhachium, Tarraco.  
*Horse*,       "       "
- GYRTON, Thessaly. Horse.  
*Horse*, Agyrium.
- TRACHIN, Thessaly. Horse.  
*Horse*, Atrax.
- LAMIA, Thessaly. Vase.
- LARISSA, Thessaly. Horse, Bull, Harpa.  
*Horse*, Orisia, Larissa.  
*Harpa*, Rhosus.
- MALIENSES, Thessaly. Grapes, Vase.  
*Grapes*, Melos.  
*Vase*,       "       "
- PELINNA, Thessaly. Horse, Bull.  
*Horse*, Pella, Phalanna.  
*Bull*, Pella.
- PERRHÆBIA, Thessaly. Horse, Bull.  
*Horse*, Pheræ, Ephyra.  
*Bull*, Pheræ, Perinthus.
- PHACIUM, Thessaly. Horse.
- PHALANNA, Thessalo. Horse, Bull, Fish.  
*Horse*, Pella, Pelinna.  
*Bull*,       "       "  
*Goat*, Pharus.  
*Fish*, Pale.
- PHARSALUS, Thessaly. Horse.  
*Horse*, Thessaly.

\* About Macedonia there is as little doubt as about Thessaly. The names of the early kings appear to be Iberian.

PHERÆ, Thessaly. Horse.

*Horse*, Perrhæbia.

*Bull*, „

PROANA, Thessaly. Club.

*Club*, Perinthus.

TRICCA, Thessaly.\* Ram, Horse, Bull.

*Ram*, Samothrace.

*Horse*, Atrax.

*Bull*, „

EDONEI, Bull.

*Bull*, Tyana, Toanum, Sidon.

PATRAOS, King of Edonei. Apollo.

*Sun*, Patara.

IRRHÆSIA, Island, Thessaly. Diana.

*Moon*, Alæsa.

PEPARETHUS, Island, Thessaly. Ram, Apollo, Vase.

*Ram*, Stymphalis.

*Sun*, Cephallonia.

*Vase*, Pharus.

EPIRUS.† Bull.

*Bull*, Barea, Pheræ, Perinthus.

AMBRACIA, Epirus. Bull, Sun.

CASSOPE, Epirus. Vase, Bull.

*Vase*, Cissa.

*Bull*, Cyzicus.

DAMASTIUM, Epirus. Sun.

*Sun*, Damascus, Medama.

ORICUS, Epirus. Sun.

*Sun*, Orra.

PHÆNICAPEA, Epirus. Diana.

*Moon*, Capua.

\* The emblem of the horse in Thessaly and Macedonia has nothing to do with Centaurs or the capacity of the region for horse-breeding. It is a simple relation of nomenclature.

† See Note on Illyria.



CORCYRA, Island, Epirus. Bull, Vase, Apollo, Horse, Grapes.

*Bull*, Carystos, Megara, Egurri.

*Vase*, Cardia.

*Sun*, „

*Horse*, Corinth.

*Grapes*, Carthea.

CASSOPE, Corcyra. Vase, Bull, Grapes.

*Vase*, Cassope.

*Grapes*, Assos.

ARGOS, Amphiloichi, Acarnania. Horse.

*Horse*, Rhaeucus.

LEUCAS, Leucadia, Acarnania. Ship, Diana.

*Ship*, Gades.

*Moon*, „

CENIADÆ, Acarnania. Bull.

*Bull*, Æna.

SOLLUM, Acarnania. Horse.

*Horse*, Salapia, Soli-mariaca.

THYRRUM, Acarnania. Sun, Bull, Owl.

*Sun*, Tauromenium.

*Bull*, „ „

*Owl*, „ „

ÆTOLIA, Boar.

*Boar*, Atella.

APOLLONIA, Ætolia. Boar, Diana, Spear.

*Boar*, Populonia.

*Spear*, „

*Moon*, Illipula.

CALYDON, Ætolia. Lyre, Apollo.

*Lyre*, Chalcis, Calymna, Chalcedon.

*Sun*, Chalcis.

AMPHISSA, Locris. Apollo, Boar.

OPUNTII, Locris. Spear, Vase, Shield.

*Spear*, Sisapona.

*Vase*, Hipponum.

*Shield*, Aspendus.

TERONIUM, Locris. Spear, Apollo, Boar.

*Spear*, Thurium.

*Sun*, Thyrrium.

PHOCIS. Bull, Sun, Horse.

*Horse*, Equæsia, Phacium.

*Sun*, Ucetii.

ELATEA, Phocis. Trident.

*Trident*, Alyzea.

THEBES, Bœotia. Vase, Shield.

*Vase*, Taba.

BÆOTIA, Vase, Shield. (B.T.—T.B.)

ANTHEDON, Bœotia. Vase.

*Vase*, Andros.

ERYTHRÆ, Bœotia. Horse.

PELICANIA, Bœotia. Horse.

*Horse*, Phalanna, Pelinna, Pella.

PHERÆ, Bœotia. Vase.

*Vase*, Pharos.

TANAGRA, Bœotia. Horse, Grapes.

*Horse*, Tyndaris.

*Grapes*, Tenedos.

THERÆ, Bœotia. Grapes, Vase.

*Grapes*, Abdera.

*Vase*, „

THESPIA, Bœotia. Moon.

*Moon*, Thospia.

ATHENS, Attica.\* Owl, Sow, Snake, Bee, Olive, Ship, Crescent,  
Ceres (Corn), Hammer.

*Owl*, Atinum, Tenedos, Catana, Azetini, Cythnos.

*Pig*, Mantinea.

*Olive*, Rubastini.

*Moon*, Cythnos.

*Corn*, Atinum, Azetini, Rubastini, Leontini, Methana, Sardinia.

*Hammer*, Methana.

DECELEIA, Attica. Caduceus, Helmeted Head.

*Wand*, Callatia.

*Helmeted Head*, Callet.

\* The mythological contest between Pallas and Poseidon about the olive and the horse is evidently a late invention.

ELEUSIS, Attica. Sow, Snake.

*Fig*, Ialysus.

*Snake*, Elis.

MEGARA, Attica. Apollo, Ship.

*Sun*, Megara, Sicily.

*Ship*, Cartago.

OROPUS, Attica. Club, Spear, Fish.

*Club*, Rhypæ, Libora.

*Spear*, Lipara.

*Fish*, Libora.

ÆGINA, Island, Attica. Ram, Fish, Ship, Tortoise.

*Ram*, Cœna.

*Fish*, Oningis.

*Ship*, Saguntum.

*Tortoise*, Ægian.

HELENA, Island, Attica. Ram, Vase.

*Sheep*, Alea, Julis.

SALAMIS, Island, Attica. Bull.

*Bull*, Salamis, Selinus.

ÆGIRA, Achaia. Goat.

*Goat*, Agyrium.

ÆGION (Aigion), Peloponnesus. Tortoise, Eagle, Bacchus.

*Tortoise*, Ægina.

*Eagle*, Crossus.

*Grapes*, Acilium.

CORINTH, Pelop. Horse, Trident.

*Horse*, Hyccara (Kurra, Akkad, &c., Horse).

*Trident*, Carystos, Corone, Caronium, Ceraïte, Cura.

DYME, Pelop. Vase.

PELIUS, Pelop.\* Bull.

*Bull*, Aballo, Sicily; Aballo, Gaul; Pylos of Elis, Baelo, &c.

*Grapes*, Populonia.

RHYPÆ, Pelop. Club, Bow, Quiver.

*Club*, Oropus, Libora.

SICYON, Pelop. Pigeon, Lion.

*Pigeon*, Scione.

*Lion*, Cænicenses.

\* Now that we are in Arcadia, &c., we can test the conditions of the population among whom the Hellenes entered.

ELIS. Horse, Eagle, Snake.

*Horse*, Velia.

*Eagle*, Alæsa.

*Snake*, Eleusis.

ORTHIA, Elis. Horse.

*Horse*, Othrytæ.

PYLOS, Elis. Bull, Goat, Fish.

*Bull*, Pelius, Abolla, Aballo, Pella, Pelinna, Baelo.

*Goat*, Phalanna.

*Fish*, Pale, Illipula.

CEPHALLENGIA, Island, Elis. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Pelius.

CRANIUM, Cephallenia, Island. Ram, Bow.

NESUS (Neso), Cephallenia, Island.\* Panther, Fish.

PALE, PALLENCES, Cephallenia, Island. Fish, Arrow.

*Fish*, Pylus, Illipula.

*Arrow*, Phalasarna.

PRONI, Cephallenia, Island. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Orphrynium.

SAME, Cephallenia, Island. Ram, Dog, Helmeted Head, Apollo.

*Ram*, Samothrace.

*Helmet*, Mesembria.

*Sun*, Sámosata, Samnites.

ZACYNTHUS (Zakuntho), Island. Snake, Moon, Vase.

*Snake*, Segeste.

*Horse*, Sacili.

*Moon*, Segovii.

*Vase*, Canusium.

ITHACA, Island. Cock.

MESSENIA. Tripod.

*Tripod*, Messana.

AMPHEA, Messenia. Apollo.

*Sun*, Amphissa, Ambracia.

CORONE, Messenia. Horse.

*Horse*, Corinth, Crannon, Corcyra, Hyccara, Agyrium.

PYLUS, Messenia. Trident.

*Trident*, Phalasarna.

LACEDÆMON (Lakedaimon). Diana, Caduceus.

*Moon*, Leukadia.

\* Query if this be a Greek form.



- ARGOS, Argolis. Wolf, Helmet.  
*Helmet*, Caura.
- ASINE, Argolis. Bow, Club.  
*Bow*, Xanthus.
- EPIDAUROS, Argolis. Cock, Goat, Wolf.\*  
*Cock*, Terina.  
*Wolf*, Thyrea.  
*Goat*, Thera.
- HERMIONE, Argolis. Horse.  
*Horse*, Minyæ.
- METHANA, Argolis. Corn, Vulcan.  
*Corn*, Atinum, Azetini, &c.  
*Vulcan*, Athens.
- THYREA, Argolis. Wolf, Quiver, Helmet, Owl.  
*Wolf*, Epidaurus.  
*Helmet*, Thyrea.  
*Owl*, Thyrrium.
- TREZENE, Argolis. Trident.  
*Trident*, Byzantium.
- IRENE, Island, Argolis. Trident.  
*Trident*, Caronium, Corone.
- ALEA, Arcadia. Ram.  
*Ram*, Helena, Julis.
- CHARISSA, Arcadia. Apollo, Wolf.  
*Sun*, Corcyra.  
*Wolf*, Argos.
- MAN-TINEA, Arcadia. Sow, Trident.  
*Pig*, Athenai, Methymne.  
*Trident*, Tenos.
- PHENEUS, Arcadia. Bull, Horse, Diana.  
*Bull*, Æna.  
*Horse*, „  
*Moon*, „
- STYMPHALUS, Arcadia. Sheep.  
*Sheep*, Peparethus.
- TEGEA, Arcadia. Stag.
- THELPUSA, Arcadia. Sun.  
*Sun*, Atella, Entella, Delos.

\* In this region the Wolf occurs as an emblem.

APTERA, Crete.\* Apollo, Bee.

*Sun*, Teronium.

*Bee*, Eretriæ.

ARGOS, Crete. Bow, Owl.

*Owl*, Megara.

ARSINOË, Crete. Fish.

*Fish*, Arsi, Urso, Ursi.

AXUS, FAXUS, Crete. Apollo.

*Sun*, Phocis, Ucetia.

CÉRAITE, Crete. Spear-head.

*Spear*, Caronium, Corinth, Carystos.

CNOSSUS, Crete. Quiver, Spear, Eagle.

*Eagle*, Ægion.

CYDONIA, Crete. Bow, Diana, Owl.

*Bow*, Cydna.

*Moon*, Cythnus, Leukadia, Gades.

*Owl*, Cythnus, Catana, Leukadia.

ELYRUS, Crete. Bee.

*Bee*, Elæusa.

GORTYNA, Crete. Bull.

*Bull*, Egurri.

ITANUS, Crete. Fish, Spear, Trident, Eagle.

*Fish*, Tenos.

*Trident*, Tyndaris.

*Eagle*, Tanos.

LAMPA, LAPPÀ, Crete. Corn.

*Corn*, Salapia.

LASOS, Crete. Diana.

*Moon*, Alæsa.

LISSUS, Crete. Fish.

LYTTUS (Lutto). Ship, Boar.

*Hog*, Eleusis, Ialysus.

OLUS, Crete. Diana.

*Moon*, Uliæ.

PHÆSTUS, Crete. Bull.

*Bull*, Pœstum, Phistella.

PHALANNA, Crete. Fish.

*Fish*, Pylus, Populonia.

\* Crete is a world in itself.

PHALASARNA, Crete. Trident.

*Trident*, Pylus, Populonia.

POLYRHÆNIUM, Crete. Diana, Spear, Bull.

*Moon*, Apollonia.

*Spear*, „

*Bull*, Pylus.

PRÆSUS, Crete. Fish, Trident.

*Fish*, Priansus.

*Trident*, „

PRIANSUS, Crete. Fish, Trident.

*Fish*, Præsus.

*Trident*, „

PYRANTHUS, Crete. Goat.

*Goat*, Paros, Pharus.

RHAUCUS (Rauku), Crete. Horse, Ship, Trident.

*Horse*, Corinth, &c.

*Ship*, Megara.

*Trident*, Rhithymna.

RHITHYMNA, Crete. Trident, Fish.

*Trident*, Rhaucus.

SYBRITIA, Crete. Fish.

TANOS, Crete. Eagle.

*Eagle*, Itanus.

THALASSA, Crete. Spear.

*Spear*, Alyzea, Mylasa.

TYLISSUS, Crete. Goat, Stag, Bow.

*oat*, Sagalassus, Lissus.

*Bow*, Alæsa.

EUBŒA, Greek, Island. Bull, Pigeon.

CARYSTUS, Eubœa. Bull, Cow, Cock, Palm, Fish, Trident.

*Bull*, Egurri, Corcyra, Acarnania, Cales.

*Cock*, Cales, Calata.

*Fish*, Coresia, Caura, Caronium, Callatia.

*Trident*, Corinth, Caronium, Corone.

CHALCIS, Eubœa. Apollo, Trident, Wheel.

*Sun*, Macella, Megara.

*Trident*, see Carystos.

*Wheel*, Chalcedon.

ERETRIA, Eubœa. Bull, Grapes, Bow.

*Bull*, Abdera.

*Grapes*, „

*Bow*, „

HISTIÆ, Eubœa. Ship, Bull, Grapes.

*Ship*, Cissa.

*Bull*, Cassope.

*Grapes*, „

AMORGUS, Island. Apollo.

*Sun*, Murgantium.

ÆGIALE, Amorgus. Owl.

*Owl*, Calacte.

ANAPHE, Island. Bee, Vase, Apollo.

*Vase*, Æniana.

*Sun*, Enna.

ANDROS, Island. Panther, Grapes, Vase.

*Grapes*, Abdera.

*Vase*, Abdera, Anthedon.

CEOS, CEA, Island. Horse, Dog, Vase.

*Horse*, Cissa.

*Vase*, Cissa.

*Dog*, Cos.

CARTHEA, City of Ceos. Dog, Grape.

*Dog*, Hyccara.

*Grape*, Corcyra.

CORESIA, City of Ceos, Island. Fish, Apollo, Dog.

*Fish*, Caura, Caronium.

*Sun*, Charissa.

*Dog*, Hyccara.

JULIS, City of Ceos, Island. Bee.

*Bee*, Elæusa.

POESA (Po-esa), City of Ceos, Island. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Pœstum, Assos, Thassus.

CIMOLIS, Island. Bee.

*Bee*, Smyrna.



CYTHNUS, Island. Bee, Owl, Crescent, Star, Lyre.

*Bee*, Athens.

*Owl*, Athens, Catana, Cydonia.

*Moon*, Athens.

*Star*, Cydonia.

*Lyre*, Cydna.

DELOS, Island. Apollo.\*

*Sun*, Telemessos, Tantalía, Atella, Petelia, Pautalia, Thel-  
pusa, Entella.

MELOS, Island. Grapes, Vase.

*Grapes*, Malienses.

*Vase*, Malienses.

JOS, Island. Palm, Bacchus.

*Palm*, Ausa.

*Grapes*, Issa.

MYCONOS, Island. Corn, Grapes.

*Corn*, Acinipo.

*Grapes*, „

NAXOS, Island. Vase, Grapes.

*Vase*, Ceos, Cassope.

*Grapes*, „

PHOLEGANDRUS, Island. Bull.

*Bull*, Pylos, Pelion, Aballo.

SERIPHUS, Island. Pigeon.

*Pigeon*, Siphnos.

SIPHNOS. Pigeon, Trident.

*Pigeon*, Seriphus.

*Trident*, Sisapona.

SICINUS, Island. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Ægion.

PAROS, Island. Goat, Grapes.

*Goat*, Pyranthus.

*Grapes*, Pelius.

SYROS, Island. Corn.

*Corn*, Searo, Eresus.

\* The legend of Apollo had no more to do with Delos than with any other place which had the Sun for an emblem. This is only one form of word for the Sun.

THERA, Island. Bull, Fish.

*Bull*, Tarraco, Tauromenium, Dyrrachium.

*Fish*, Thyatira, Abdera, Thurium.

TENOS, Island. Trident, Fish.

*Trident*, Mantinea.

*Fish*, Itanus.

SENA (Gallica), Italy. Horse, Apollo.

*Horse*, Senones, Santones.

*Sun*, Enna.

ACILIUM, Italia Superior. Vase with Grapes.

*Vase*, Helena.

CAMARS, Etruria. Boar.

*Boar*, Capua.

FÆSULÆ, Etruria. Fish, Trident.

*Fish*, Phistella, Salapia, Salacia, Salentina.

*Trident*, Phalasarna, Selge.

FALERII, Etruria. Apollo.

*Sun*, Pylos, Peliuss, Aballo, Abella, &c.

POPULONIA, Etruria. Boar, Crescent, Grapes, Trident, Corn, Lion,  
Hammer.

*Boar*, Apollonia.

*New Moon*, Illipula, Pylos, Pale, &c.

*Grapes*, Peliuss.

*Trident*, Pylos.

*Corn*, Baelo, Hispalis, Obuleo.

*Lion*, Cabellio.

PEITHESA, Etruria. Owl and Rat.

*Owl*, Lebedus.

VETULONIA, Etruria.\* Ship, Anchor.

*Ship*, Bottiæa.

*Anchor*, Abydus.

IGUVIUM, Umbria. Star, Wheel.

*Star*, Aquinum.

*Wheel*, Iptuci.

\* The available coins of Etruria are not numerous, but they compare closely with those of Asia Minor.

TUDER, Umbria. Frog, Anchor, Sow.

*Anchor*, Vetulonia.

*Hog*, Ostur.

ANCONA, Picenum. Elbow and Palm.

ADRIA, Picenum. Lyre.

*Lyre*, Adranum.

VESTINI, Picenum. Moon.

*Moon*, Pœstum.

ALBA, Latium. Horse.

*Horse*, Alabanda.

AQUINUM, Latium. Star, Cock.

*Star*, Iguvium.

VOLTERRA. Wheel.

*Wheel*, Tarentum.

AISERNIA, Samnium. Bull, Apollo, Snake.

*Bull*, Phaselis.

*Apollo*, Selinus.

*Snake*, „

BENEVENTUM, Samnium. Apollo, Horse.

*Sun*, Panormus.

*Horse*, „

COMPULTERIA, Samnium. Apollo, Bull.

*Sun*, Panticapæum.

*Bull*, Campani, Cumæ.

FRENTANI, Samnium. Horse.

*Horse*, Ferentum.

LARINUM, Samnium. Horse, Bull, Fish.

*Horse*, Larissa.

*Bull*, „

*Fish*, Hyrina.

MURGANTIA, Samnium. Apollo.

*Sun*, Amorgos.

SAMNITES, Italy. Bull.

On many of the Samnite coins a Bull is to be found. See Samos.

Also Apollo (Sun), as on coins of Same and Samosata.

CAMPANI, Campania. Bull.

*Bull*, Compulteria, Cumæ.

ATELLA (Adere), Campania. Elephant, Sow, Sun.

*Hog*, Ætolia.

*Sun*, Delos, Island ; Telemissus, Entella, Petelia.

CALATIA, Campania. Cock.

CALATIA, Campania. Trident.

*Trident*, Colossæ.

CALES, CALET (Kaleno), Campania. Cock, Bull.

*Cock*, Calata.

*Bull*, Egurri, Macella.

CAPUA, Campania. Lion, Boar, Apollo, Diana, Cor.

*Lion*, Cabellio.

*Boar*, Camars.

*Sun*, Compulteria, Panticapæum.

*Moon*, Phænicapæa.

COSSA, Campania. Horse.

*Horse*, Cissa, Equæsi, Syracuse, Ceos.

CUMÆ, Campania. Palm, Frog, Crab, Bull, Shell.

*Palm*, Camerina.

*Crab*, Gabala.

*Bull*, Compulteria.

*Shell*, Cimolis.

HYRINA, Campania. Fish.

*Fish*, Aria, Boetica.

NOLA, Campania. Bull, Apollo.

*Bull*, Nerii.

NUCERIA, Alfaterna, Campania. Eagle, Apollo, Dog, Fish, Horse.

*Sun*, Megara.

*Dog*, Agyrium, Hyccara.

*Horse*, „ „

PARTHENOPE (Nespolis), Campania. Horse, Bull, Apollo, Diana,  
Caducens.

*Horse*, Perrhæbia, Ferentum, Frentani.

*Bull*, Perrhæbia, Perinthus.

*Sun*, Peparethus.

*Moon*, Berytis.

*Caducens*, Berytis, Berytus, Perinthus.

PHISTELLA, Bistelia, Campania. Fish, Bull.

*Fish*, Pœstum, Byzantium, Libisona.

*Bull*, „ „



PICENTIA (Piskinis), Campania. Rat.

*Rat*, Peithesa.

SUESSA, Campania. Cock, Horse, Lion, Palm, Apollo, Bull.

*Cock*, Cissa.

*Horse*, Cissa, Cossa.

*Lion*, Cissa, Cyzicus.

*Palm*, Cassandra, Ausa.

*Sun*, Cius.

*Bull*, Cassope.

TEANUM (Tia), Campania. Bull, Cock, Star, Apollo.

*Bull*, Tyana, Catana, Sidon.

*Cock*, Dardanus.

*Star*, Cydonia.

*Sun*, Tenedos, Catana, Adana.

ARPI, Apulia. Corn, Horse, Bull.

*Corn*, Orippe.

*Horse*, Perrhæbia.

*Bull*, „

ASCULUM, Apulia. Boar, Horse, Corn.

*Horse*, Sacili.

*Corn*, Sagalassus.

BARIUM, Apulia. Ship, Fish.

*Ship*, Berytus, Lipara.

*Fish*, Libora, Lipara.

CANUSIUM, Apulia. Vase, Horse, Lyre.

*Vase*, Zacyanthus.

*Horse*, Cyon.

*Lyre*, Cyaneæ.

LUCERIA, Apulia. Frog, Shell, Bow, Quiver, Club, Fish, Apollo,  
Wheel, Bull.

*Shell*, Egurri.

*Bow*, Cartago.

*Quiver*, „

*Club*, „

*Fish*, „

*Sun*, Carrhæ, Corcyra.

*Wheel*, Cyrene.

*Bull*, Corcyra, Egurri.

RUBASTINI. Owl, Olive, Corn.

*Owl*, Azetini, Athens, Atinum, Catana, Tenedos, Bisanthe.

*Olive*, Athens.

*Corn*, Sardinia, Leontini, Azetini, Athens, Atinum.

SALAPIA, Apulia. Fish, Apollo, Horse, Boar.

*Fish*, Solimariaca.

*Sun*, „

*Horse*, „

*Boar*, Salentini.

VENUSIA, Apulia. Fish, Olive, and Owl.

*Fish*, Nesus.

AZETINI, Calabria. Owl, Corn.

*Owl*, Athens, Catana, Bisanthe, Rubastini.

*Corn*, Sardinia, Leontini, Rubastini.

BRUNDUSIUM, Calabria, Fish.

*Fish*, Priansus.

BUTUNTUM, Calabria. Corn, Fish.

*Corn*, Azetini.

*Fish*, Byzantium.

CÆLIUM, Calabria, Lion.

*Lion*, Callatia.

ORRA, Calabria. Apollo, Grapes.

*Sun*, Oricus.

*Grapes*, Orippe.

TARENTUM (Taras), Calabria, Fish, Crab, Horse, Bow, Wheel, Apollo,  
Bacchus, Owl.\*

*Fish*, Thera, Thurium, Turuptiana.

*Crab*, Tèrina.

*Horse*, Turiaso, Turones.

*Bow*, Abdera, Erythræ.

*Wheel*, Volterra.

*Sun*, Teria, Turones.

*Grapes*, Terone.

*Owl*, Tauromenium.

*Crescent*, Erythræ.

\* Taras, the hero of this city, was purely imaginary.

ATINUM, Lucania. Owl,\* Corn.

*Owl*, Athens, Catana, Azetini, Bisanthe, Salentini, Tenedos.

*Corn*, Azetini, Leontini, Bisanthe, Rubastini.

BUXENTUM, Pixus, Lucania. Bull.

*Bull*, Byzantium.

LAUS, Lainos, Lucania. Bull.

*Horse*, Larinum.

METAPONTUM (Metabo), Lucania. Corn, Fish, Horse.

*Corn*, Munda.

*Fish*, Motna.

*Horse*, „

POESTUM, Lucania. Fish, Boar, Bull, Diana, Two Hands, Lion.

*Fish*, Byzantium, Libisona.

*Bull*, „ „

*Moon*, Byzantium.

*Lion*, „

SYRIS, Lucania. Snake, Ship.

SYBARIS, Lucania. Diana, Bull.

*Moon*, Berytus.

*Bull*, Barea.

*Fish*, Illiberis.

N.B.—Sybaris was afterwards called Thurium, which also signifies Bull.

VELIA, Lucania. Lion.

*Lion*, Phalanna.

CAULONIA, Bruttium. Stag, Fish, Apollo.

*Stag*, Cyrene.

*Fish*, Callatia.

*Sun*, Calacte.

CROTON, Bruttium. Stag, Ram, Bow, Apollo, Lion, Horse, Bull.

*Stag*, Cragus.

*Ram*, Cranium.

*Bow*, „

*Sun*, Cratia, Cragus.

*Lion*, Acrasus.

*Horse*, Crannon.

*Bull*, Gortyna.

\* In Lucania, as in Calabria, the Owl was a common emblem.

HIPPONUM (Epione), Bruttium. Vase, Clúb, Owl.

*Vase*, Opuntii.

*Owl*, Panormus.

MADAMA, Mesma, Bruttium. Apollo, Ceres.

*Sun*, Damastium, Damascus.

*Corn*, Methana.

NUCERIA (Noukri), Bruttium. Apollo, Lion, Horse.

*Sun*, Nuceria of Campania.

*Lion*, Cerritani.

*Horse*, Corone.

PITANATA, Bruttium. Lion.

PETELIA, Bruttium. Sun, Dog.

*Sun*, Atella, Entella, Telemissus.

RHEGIUM, Bruttium. Lion, Lyre, Dog.

*Lion*, Ricomagus.

*Sun*, Cragus.

*Lyre*, „

*Dog*, Eryx.

TOMESA, Bruttium. Helmet.

*Helmet*, Mesembria, Amasia.

TERINA, Bruttium. Swan, Crab, Vase.

*Swan*, Camerina.

*Crab*, Tarentum, Telos.

*Vase*, Terone.

SICILIA, Sicania. Three Legs.

*Three*, see Syracuse.

ABACÆNUM, Sicily. Bull, Sow.

*Bull*, Caunus, Cyon.

ABELLA, Sicily. Bull, Grapes.

*Bull*, Pelius.

*Grapes*, „

ADRANUS, Sicily. Apollo, Lyre, Fish.

*Fish*, Hadria.

ÆTNÆI, Sicily. Horse, Apollo, Ceres.

*Horse*, Catana.

*Sun*, „



AGRIGENTUM (Akraga), Sicily. Crab, Pigeon, Snake, Fish.

*Crab*, Eryx.

*Pigeon*, „

*Snake*, Nacrassa.

*Fish*, Argesa.

AGYRIUM, Sicily. Dog, Bull, Horse, Goat, Diana.

*Dog*, Nuceria, Eryx.

*Bull*, Megara, Carystos, Egurri.

*Horse*, Corone, Hyccara, Carissa.

*Goat*, Ægera, Peloponium.

*Moon*, Egurri.

ALÆSA (Alaisa), Sicily. Bow, Quiver, Moon, Eagle.

*Bow*, Tylissus.

*Quiver*, Pimolisa.

*Eagle*, Aluntium.

ALUNTIIUM (Alonti), Sicily. Bull, Eagle.

*Bull*, Selinus.

*Eagle*, Alæsa.

AMESTRATUS, Sicily. Horse, Apollo, Diana.

*Horse*, Termessus, Mostene.

*Sun*, Mossina, Mastaura.

*Moon*, Massilia.

ASSORUS, Sicily. Bull, Apollo.

*Bull*, Assos.

*Sun*, Æzanis.

CÆNA, Sicily. Horse, Ram, Eagle.

*Horse*, Cyon, Caunus.

*Ram*, Ægina.

*Eagle*, „

CALACTE, Sicily. Apollo, Lyre, Club, Grapes.

*Sun*, Chalcis.

*Lyre*, „

*Club*, Callatia.

*Grapes*, „

CAMARINA, Sicily. Lizard, Swan, Horse, Cock, Helmet.

*Lizard* (this is the large red-headed Lizard in Africa):

*Swan*, Terina.

*Horse*, Cyme.

*Cock*, Himera.

*Palm*, Cumæ.

*Sun*, Gambrium.

*Helmet*, Cabira.

CATANA, Sicily. Owl, Bull, Apollo, Bird, Grapes, Fish.

*Owl*, Tenedos, Athens.

*Sun*, Tenedos.

*Grapes*, „

*Bull*, Tyana.

*Bird*, Centuripæ.

*Fish*, Tenos.

CENTURIPÆ, Sicily.

*Bird*, Catana.

CEPHALLÆDIUM, Sicily. Bull, Club, Apollo, Bacchus.

*Bull*, Aballo, Abella, Pylos, Pelius.

*Sun*, „ „ „ „

*Grapes*, Pelius.

ENNA (Etnenna), Sicily. Goat, Hog, Snake, Apollo, Torch.

*Goat*, Senones.

*Hog*, „

*Snake*, Etnenna.

*Sun*, Anaphe.

*Torch*, Menynum.

ENTELLA, Sicily. Sun, Bull, Horse.

*Sun*, Atella, Petilia, Telemissus, Delus.

*Bull*, Pautalia.

*Horse*, Toletum.

ERYX, Sicily. Dove, Crab, Dog.

*Dove*, Agrigentum.

*Crab*, „

*Dog*, Rhegium.

EUBŒA, Sicily. Apollo, Bull.

*Sun*, Lilybœum.

GELAS, Sicily. Bull, Corn, Horse, Ram.

*Bull*, Chalcedon.

*Corn*, „

*Horse*, Celenderis.

*Ram*, Gaulos.

HIMERA, Sicily. Cock, Horse, Lion, Shells.

*Cock*, Camarina.

*Horse*, Camarina.

*Shells*, Cumæ, Cimolis.

HYCCARA (Uccara), Sicily. Dog.

*Dog*, Agyrium.

LEONTINI, Sicily. Corn, Sun.

*Corn*, Sardinia, Azetini, Rubastini.

LILYBÆUM, Sicily. Snake, Sun.

MACELLA, Sicily. Bull, Sun.

*Bull*, Cales.

*Sun*, Megara.

MENÆNUM, Sicily. Club, Sun, Torch.

*Sun*, Enna.

*Torch*, Enna.

MERUSIUM, Sicily. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Maronea.

MEGARA, Sicily. Bull, Apollo.

*Bull*, Macella.

*Sun*, Megara.

MESSANA, Sicily. Palm, Hare or Rabbit, Fish, Dog, Tripod, Lion, Calf.

*Lion*, Massilia.

*Dog*, Motna.

*Tripod*, Temesa.

*Fish*, Libisona.

MORGANTIA, Sicily. Lion, Stag.

MOTNA, Sicily. Horse, Dog, Fish.

*Horse*, Metapontum.

*Dog*, Messana.

*Fish*, Munda.

NACONA, Sicily. Mule.

*Horse*, Zacynthus.

NAXOS, Sicily. Grapes.

*Grapes*, Assos, Naxos.

NEETUM, Sicily. Bull.

*Bull*, Nerii, Æna.

PANORMUS (Panormo). Palm, Owl, Dog, Sun, Ram, Lyre.

*Palm*, Bilban.

*Owl*, Hipponeum.

*Dog*, Metapontum.

*Sun*, Beneventum.

*Corn*, Pheneus.

*Lyre*, Sinope.

SEGESTA, Sicily. Lion, Stag, Snake, Dog, Bow.

*Lion*, Segovii, Cyzicus.

*Stag*, Saga-lassus.

*Snake*, Zacynthus.

*Bow*, Selge.

SELINUS, Sicily. Bull, Snake, Dog.

*Bull*, Salamis, Thessalonica.

SYRACUSA, Sicily. Triquetra, Fish, Horse, Apollo, Bull, Owl.

*Triquetra* (3 Legs), Three Sar (Sardinia); *Zal*, Etruscan;  
Sama, Canaanitic; Cossura.

*Fish*, Cissa.

*Horse*, „

*Sun*, Chios.

*Bull*, Cyzicus.

*Owl*, Argos.

TAUROMENIUM,\* Sicily. Apollo, Diana, Vase, Owl, Horse, Bull.

*Sun*, Turones.

*Moon*, Tarentum.

*Vase*, Astyra.

*Owl*, „

*Horse*, Tarentum, Turones.

*Bull*, Tarraco, Dyrrachium.

TYNDARIS, Sicily.† Horse.

*Horse*, Tarentum, Turones.

GELON, King in Sicily. Lion.

*Lion*, Coelium.

\* Tauromenium is not connected with Taurus.

† Sicily is particularly rich in emblems.



COSSURA, Island, Sicily. Crown, Triangle.

*Triangle*, Syracuse (= Cusa-syra)

GAULOS, Island, Sicily. Crescent, Shell, Boar.

*Moon*, Egurri.

*Shell*, „

*Ram*, Gelas.

LIPARA, Island. Fish, Trident, Ship, Bacchus.

*Fish*, Libora, Barium, Illiberis.

*Trident*, Pylus, Libora.

*Ship*, Berytus, Barium.

*Grapes*, Pelius.

MELITA, Malta, Island. Horse, Tripod, Lyre.

*Horse*, Mylasa.

*Tripod*, Philomelium.

*Lyre*, Alyatta.

SARDINIA,\* Island. Three Ears of Corn.

*Three*, Syra (see Syracuse).

*Corn*, Atinum, Azetini, Leontini, Rubastini, &c.

BALSA, Spain-Lusitania. New Moon, Corn.

*Moon*, Baelo.

*Corn*, „

MYRTILIS, Spain-Lusitania. Fish.

*Fish*, Myrina.

OSSONOA, Spain-Lusitania. Fish, Ship.

*Fish*, Asido, Sinope.

SALACIA, Spain-Lusitania. Two Dolphins.

*Fish*, Solimariaca, Salentini.

ACINIPO, Spain-Boetica. Corn, Grape.

*Corn*, Onuba.

ARIA, Cumbaria, Spain-Boetica. Dolphin.

*Fish*, Arevaca.

ASCUTA, LASCUTA, Spain-Boetica. Elephant.

ASIDO, Spain-Boetica. Bull, Two Dolphins, Star.

*Bull*, Asta.

*Fish*, Bursada.

*Star*, Issa.



\* See Observations in the paper on this name.

ASTA, Spain-Boetica. Apollo, Bull.

*Sun*, Astyra, Assos.

*Bull*, „ „

ASTAPA, Spain-Boetica. Woman's Head with Rays.

*Moon*, Poestum.

BAELO, BELO, Spain-Boetica. Bull, Corn, Sun.

*Bull*, Abella, Aballo.

*Corn*, Hispalis, Populonia.

*Sun*, Abella, Aballo.

BAREA, Spain-Boetica. Bull.

*Bull*, Sybaris, Perinthus.

CALLETII, Spain-Boetica. Corn, Helmet.

*Corn*, Chalcedon.

*Helmet*, Calata.

CARBULA, Spain-Boetica. Snake, Lyre.

*Lyre*, Pella.

CARISSA, Spain-Boetica. Horse.

*Horse*, Agyrium, Hyccara, Corone.

CARMO, Spain-Boetica. Horse, Corn.

*Horse*, Carissa, Corone.

*Corn*, Cardia.

CARTEIA, Spain-Boetica. Fish, Ship, Quiver, Club.

*Fish*, Caura, Coressia.

*Ship*, Megara.

*Quiver*, Luceria.

*Bow*, „

*Club*, „

CAURA, Spain-Boetica. Helmeted Head, Fish, Moon.

*Helmet*, Coresia.

*Fish*, „

*Moon*, Egurri.

GADES, Spain-Boetica. Fish, Corn, Ship, Moon, Trident.

*Fish*, Cissa, &c.

*Ship*, Cisthena.

*Corn*, Cissa, &c

*Moon*, Leucadia.

ILLIBERIS, Spain-Boetica. Fish, Horse.

*Fish*, Libora.

*Horse*, „

- ILLIPULA, Spain-Boetica. Fish, Corn, New Moon.  
*Fish*, Pale, Pylus.  
*Corn*, Baelo.  
*Moon*, „
- IRIPPO, Spain-Boetica. Bacchus.  
*Grapes*, Orippo.
- ITUCI, Spain-Boetica. Horse, Fish, Corn.  
*Corn*, Tucci, Lastigi.
- LÆLIA, Spain-Boetica. Palm, Corn.  
*Corn*, Elæa.
- LASTIGI, Spain-Boetica. Helmet, Corn.  
*Corn*, Tucci, Ituci.
- MIROBRIGA, Spain-Boetica. Horse.  
*Horse*, Maronea.
- MUNDA, Spain-Boetica. Corn, Fish.  
*Corn*, Metapontum, Mathana.  
*Fish*, Helmantica, Motna.
- NEMA, Spain-Boetica. Fish.  
*Fish*, Oningis.
- MURGI, Spain-Boetica. Palm, Horse.
- OBULCO (Obulko), Spain-Boetica. Bull, Apollo, Horse, Stag,  
 Corn.  
*Bull*, Aballo, Pelius.  
*Sun*, „ „  
*Horse*, Pella.  
*Hog*, Populonia.  
*Corn*, „
- ONINGIS, Spain-Boetica. Fish, Horse.  
*Fish*, Ægina.  
*Horse*, Cyon.
- ONUBA, Spain-Boetica. Corn, Horse.
- ORIPPO, Spain-Boetica. Corn, Grapes, Bull.  
*Grapes*, Iripo.
- OSSET, Spain-Boetica. Grapes.  
*Grapes*, Assos, Issa, &c.
- HISPALIS, Spain-Boetica. Corn.  
*Corn*, Baelo, Populonia, Cypsela.
- SACILI (Sakili), Spain-Boetica. Horse.  
*Horse*, Segovia, Segobriga, Segisama, Zacynthus.

SEARO, Spain-Boetica. Corn.

*Corn*, Syros.

SISAPO, Spain-Boetica. A quadruped.

*Horse*,

TARTESSUS, Spain-Boetica. Corn, Fish.

*Corn*, Thasus.

TUCCI (Tukki), Spain-Boetica. Olive, Corn.

*Corn*, Ituci.

VENTIPPO, Spain-Boetica. Helmet.

*Helmet*, Æna.

ULIA, Spain-Boetica. Moon.

*Moon*, Illipula.

URSO, Spain-Boetica (Ursone). Fish.

*Fish*, Arsi.

ÆNA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Bull, Lion, Helmet.

*Horse*, Aninæsum.

*Bull*, Ceniadæ.

*Lion*, Caenicenses.

*Helmet*,

AREVACA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish.

*Fish*, Ergavica.

ARSI, Spain-Tarraconensis (Erisi). Fish, Horse.

*Fish*, Urso.

*Horse*, „

AUSA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Palm, Vase, Horse.

*Palm*, Suessa.

*Vase*, Assos.

*Horse*, Suessa.

BELON, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Horse.

*Fish*, Illipula.

*Horse*, Pella.

BILBAN, Spain-Tarraconensis. Palm, Fish.

*Palm*, Panormus.

*Fish*, Sisapona.

BILBILIS, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse.

BURSADA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Plowshare.

BRACARA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Horse.

*Fish*, Caronium.

*Horse*, Corone.



CARONIUM (Karoni), Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Spear.

*Fish*, Coresia.

*Spear*, Corone.

CERRETANI (Kerre), Spain-Tarraconensis. Lion, Helmet.

*Lion*, Cardia.

*Helmet*, Caura.

CISSA (Kisse), Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Lion, Fish, Cock, Vase,  
Ship, Bow.

*Horse*, Cossa, Ceos, Equæsia, Syracuse.

*Lion*, Suessa, Cyzicus.

*Fish*, Cyzicus.

*Cock*, Suessa.

*Ship*, Ossanoba.

*Vase*, Ceos, Chios, Naxos.

*Bow*,

EGURRI, Spain-Tarraconensis. Bull, Moon, Shell.

*Bull*, Megara, Carystos.

*Moon*, Caura.

*Shell*, Luceria.

EQUÆSIA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse.

*Horse*, Cissa, &c.

ERGAVICA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Plowshare, Horse.

*Horse*, Arevaca.

HELMANTICA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Fish.

*Horse*, Motna.

*Fish*, Motna, Munda.

ILDUM, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse.

*Horse*, Elis.

ISPALENSIS, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Horse.

*Fish*, Pale.

*Horse*, Pella.

*Spear*, Phalasarna.

LIBORA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Corn, Horse, Fish, Spear.

*Corn*, Pharus.

*Horse*, Ephyra, Eburones.

*Fish*, Illiberis, Lipara, Barium.

*Spear*, Berytus, Lipara.

- LIBISONA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Horse, Caduceus.  
*Fish*, Sinope, Byzantium.  
*Horse*, Sena.  
*Wand*, Asine.
- LYBIA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Palm, Horse.  
*Palm*, Libisona.
- NARBASES, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Horse.  
*Fish*, Libiona.  
*Horse*, „
- NERII, Spain-Tarraconensis. Bull, Horse.
- ORISIA, Spain-Tarraconensis (Oligie, legend). Horse.  
*Horse*, Larissa, Olisippo.
- OLISIPPO (Orisippo), Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Spear.  
*Horse*, Orisia.  
*Spear*, Alyzea.
- OSCA (Oska, Osha), Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Horse.  
*Fish*, Cissa, Cyzicus.  
*Horse*, Ossa, Ceos.
- OSICERDA (Asekert, legend), Spain-Tarraconensis. Lion.  
*Lion*, Cardia.
- OSTUR, Spain-Tarraconensis. Boar.  
*Hog*, Ætolia.
- PALA, PALENTIA, Spain - Tarraconensis. Vulcan with Council  
 Cap.  
*Vulcan*, Lipara.
- SÆTABIS (Stbgs, legend). Corn.  
*Corn*, Taba.
- SAGUNTUM, Spain-Tarraconensis. Ship, Helmeted Head.  
*Ship*, Ægina.  
*Helmet*, Æna.
- SAVIA (Sbie, legend), Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Palm.  
*Horse*, Oba.
- SEGISAMA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Fish, Palm.  
*Horse*, Sacili, Segovia, Segobriga.  
*Fish*, Segobriga.
- SEGOBRIGA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Fish, Palm.  
*Horse*, Segisama.  
*Fish*, „  
*Palm*, „

SEGOVIA (Segb, legend). Horse, Spear.

*Horse*, Segisama.

*Spear*, „

SETISACUM, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Palm.

SISAPONA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Fish, Lance.

*Horse*, Beneventum, Panormus.

*Lance*, Opuntii.

TARRACO, Spain-Tarraconensis. Bull, Palm, Crown.

*Bull*, Dyrrhachium.

*Palm*, Tyrus.

*Crown*, Thyrea, Abdera.

TOLETUM, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse.

*Horse*, Entella.

TURIASO, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse.

*Horse*, Tarentum, Tauromenium, Turones.

TURUPTIANA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Fish, Spear.

*Horse*, Turiaso.

*Fish*, Thurium.

*Spear*, „

URSI, Spain-Tarraconensis. Horse, Fish.

*Horse*, Orisia.

*Fish*, Urso, Arsi, Arsinoe.

VASCONES, Spain-Tarraconensis. Hog, Horse, Palm.

*Hog*, Asculum.

*Horse*, „

*Palm*, Askalon.

VELIA, Spain-Tarraconensis. Fish, Horse.

*Fish*, Phalanna.

*Horse*, Elis.

ZOILÆ. Horse.

*Horse*, Sollium, Solimariaca, Salapia.

VESCI, Spain. Bull and Tree.

IPTUCI (Ptukki), Spain. Wheel.

OBA, Spain. Horse.

*Horse*, Ubii.

BELLINDI, Aquitania, Gaul. Horse, Apollo.

*Horse*, Pelinna, Phalanna.

*Sun*, Pelius.

BITURIGES (Avarico), Aquitania, Gaul. Boar.

*Hog*, Eburovices.

ABUDOS, King of Bituriges. Eagle, Horse.

*Eagle*, Abydos.

*Horse*, Ubii.

CUBI, Aquitania, Gaul. Boar, Horse.

*Hog*, Capua.

*Horse*, Cacaba.

CAMBOLECTRI, Aquitania, Gaul. Horse, Sword.

*Horse*, Camarina.

*Sword*, Cimolis.

SANTONES (Santonas), Aquitania, Gaul. Horse.

*Horse*, Senones, Sena.

MASSILIA, Gaul. Lion, Diana, Quiver.

*Lion*, Messana.

*Moon*, Amestratus.

*Quiver*, „

AGATHA, Gallia-Narbonensis. Lion.

*Lion*, Acanthus.

AVENIO, Gallia-Narbonensis. Hog, Bull, Apollo, Diana.

*Hog*, Enna.

*Bull*, Pheneus, Æna.

*Sun*, Enna, Anaphe.

*Moon*, Pheneus, Banias.

CABELLIO, Gallia-Narbonensis. Lion.

*Lion*, Capua, Cibra.

CÆNICENSES (Kainike), Gallia-Narbonensis. Lion, Apollo.

*Lion*, Sicyon.

*Sun*, Cyaneæ, Conane.

CAVARES, Gallia-Narbonensis. Horse.

*Horse*, Camarina.

GLANUM, Gallia-Narbonensis. Lion.

NEMAUSUS, Gallia-Narbonensis. Serpent, Apollo, Boar.

*Sun*, Massicytes.

*Boar*, Amphissa.

OXUBII, Gallia-Narbonensis. Lion.

*Lion*, Capua.



RICOMAGENSES (Rikom), Gallia-Narbonensis. Lion, Diana.

*Lion*, Rhegium.

*Moon*, „

SAMNAGENSES, Samnage, Gallia-Narbonensis. Bull, Apollo, Diana.

*Bull*, Samnites.

*Sun*, Samnites, Same, Samosata.

*Moon*, Samos.

SEGOVII, Gallia-Narbonensis. Lion, Diana.

*Lion*, Segesta.

*Moon*, Zacynthus.

TRICORII, Gallia-Narbonensis. Diana, Lion.

*Moon*, Egurri.

*Lion*, Nuceria.

UCETIA, Gallia-Narbonensis. Apollo, Lion.

*Sun*, Cotiæum.

VOCONTII, Gallia-Narbonensis. Horse, Apollo.

*Horse*, Cyon.

*Sun*, Cyaneæ.

ABALLO, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Apollo, Bull, Ass.

*Sun*, Abella, &c.

*Bull*, Abella, Obulco, Pelius, Pylos.

ANDECAVI (Andekom), Gallia Lugdunensis. Boar, Horseman.

*Hog*, Capua.

*Horse*, Cavares.

CARNUTES, CARNITOS, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Lion.

*Lion*, Cardia.

CORILISSUS, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Lion.

*Lion*, Tricorii.

EBUROVICES, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Boar, Apollo, Horse.

*Boar*, Avaricum.

*Sun*, Balbura.

*Horse*, Eburone.

MANTUBINI, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Apollo, Horse, Fish.

*Sun*, Metapontum.

*Horse*, Munda.

*Fish*, „

ROTOMAGUS, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Apollo, Horse, Bull.

*Sun*, Rhodus, Rhodia.

*Horse*, Erethræ.

*Bull*, Eretria.

KISIAMBOS, King of Lixovii, Helvetii, Gaul, Wheel.

*Wheel*, Mesembria.

SENONES, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Horse, Boar, and Bull, 2 Goats.

*Horse*, Sena (Gallia).

*Boar*, Enna.

*Bull*, Æna, Libisona.

*Goat*, Enna.

SEQUANI, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Boar.

*Boar*, Abacænum.

TURONES, TURO, Gallia-Lugdunensis. Apollo, Horse.

*Sun*, Tauromenium.

*Horse*, „

EBURONES, Belgica. Horse.\*

*Horse*, Ephyræ.

SOLIMARIACA (or Soli)- Belgica. Horse, Fish, Apollo.

*Horse*, Salapia.

*Fish*, Salacia, Salapia, Salentini.

*Sun*, Salapia.

TORNACUM, Belgica. Helmet, Spear.

*Helmet*, Thyrea, Abdura.

*Spear*, Thurium.

UBII, Belgica.† Horse.

*Horse*, Oba.

\* The Eburones are supposed to be Germans.

† For Britain, see the text.

# DOMESTIC EVERY-DAY LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS IN THIS COUNTRY, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.H.S.

## VI.—FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE TERMINATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

WE have now arrived at the concluding epoch among those which I have marked out in taking a survey of the different periods in the Domestic History of this country, and of the Pursuits and Modes of Life of our Forefathers; and in the present paper I shall endeavour to trace the course of civilization down to the era in which we are now living.

One event, that doubtless produced a great effect on the domestic every-day life and manners of the Metropolis, was the great fire of London, which occurred in the year 1666, the year after the great plague, and which at one fell swoop swept away a large part of the houses in the City, extending from the Temple westward to London Bridge eastward. The greater part of these houses were very old, mostly of wood, and badly ventilated, having only narrow casements which admitted but little fresh air.

I have before me a copy of the *London Gazette* of the 8th of September, 1666, in which appeared the original account of the great fire of London; and I have also seen a letter which was written at the time from a gentleman in London, to his friend in Shrewsbury, and who states as follows:—

“Being just returned from viewing the sad devastations of the City whose famous structure and great riches are now turned to ashes, I find the Poste went which I thought would nott. I could not omitt

giving you this short account and leave you to your next for the particulars. The fire began in a baker's house in Pudding Lane, and has burnt from the Tower gate to the Temple hall East and Westward. Northwards to London wall, crossing the Exchange. Northwest to Cripple-gate, Aldersgate, Smithfield, Holborne bridge, Shoe and Fetter Lane. North East Gracechurch Street, part of Lime Street, Fenchurch Street, and all Towre Street. In fine nothing of the Citty remaynes except Bishopsgate and Leadenhall Street, with some other small streets. Severall here have been apprehended of the French and Dutch throwing fireballs and laying Wild fire." \*

London, in the time of King James I., had been built almost entirely of wood, and had the character of being a straggling, disagreeable-looking city, badly paved with small sharp stones, which caused barges for water carriage to be generally employed instead of coaches. The erection of stately and extensive mansions was, however, the architectural character of this period,† and many of these were standing and perished during the great fire. Prior to this event, observes Lord Macaulay, the London houses were "built, for the most part, of wood and plaster;" the few bricks that were used were ill-baked; the booths where goods were exposed to sale projected far into the streets, and were overhung by the upper stories. A few specimens of this architecture may still be seen in those districts which were not reached by the great fire. That fire had, in a few days, covered a space of little less than a square mile, with the ruins of eighty-nine churches, and of thirteen thousand houses."‡

The diagram before you contains a general view of London as it appeared immediately before the Great Fire, and nearly the whole of what you see on the Middlesex side was consumed by that fire, commencing near London Bridge and extending to the Temple. The old Gothic structure of St. Paul's will be observed rising above the houses, and the

\* From the MSS. of M. H. Bloxam, Esq., F.S.A.

† Thompson's "Illustrated History of Great Britain," vol. ii., p. 212.

‡ Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i., c. iii., p. 345.



numerous church steeples which perished in the flames, many of which were never rebuilt. The Tower is seen to the extreme right, and old London Bridge, covered with houses, as also the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark. The carriage in the foreground is one of the period of Charles II. But the City soon again uprose with a celerity which excited the admiration of neighbouring countries.

During the earlier part of the last century London retained much of the rudeness and discomfort of earlier ages. The streets as yet were for the most part unpaved, and each tradesman paved the entrance to his shop in his own fashion. What was in those days called the pavement, was the edge of the street railed off by posts for the protection of foot-passengers. The kennels, which were open on both sides of the street, swelled into floods in wet weather, while in summer they emitted pestilential stench. Snow-hill was in wet weather a perfect torrent that flowed into the Fleet ditch.\*

Almost all the noble families in London had, at the period of which I am now speaking, long migrated beyond the walls of the city. A few great men still had their mansions between the Strand and the river, where the Duke of Northumberland's until lately stood. The stately dwellings on the south and west of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Piazza of Covent Garden, Southampton Square, now called Bloomsbury Square, and King's Square in Soho Fields, now called Soho Square, were among the favourite spots. Lord Macaulay records that foreign princes were carried to see Bloomsbury Square as one of the wonders of England. A little way north from Holborn, and on the verge of the pastures and cornfields, rose two celebrated palaces, the one called Southampton House, and the other called Montague House, which latter now forms the British Museum.†

"He who then rambled to what is now the gayest and most crowded part of Regent Street," says Lord Macaulay, "found himself in a solitude, and was sometimes so fortunate as to have a shot

\* "Pict. History of England," vol. iv., p. 822.

† Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i., c. iii., p. 350, 351.

at a woodcock. On the north, the Oxford Road ran between hedges. . . . Near this spot was a field not to be passed without a shudder by any Londoner of the age. There, as in a place far from the haunts of men, had been dug, twenty years before, when the great plague was raging, a pit into which the dead carts had nightly shot corpses by scores. . . . The great majority of the houses have, since that time, been wholly or in great part rebuilt. .

. . . The centre of Lincoln's Inn Fields was an open space where the rabble congregated every evening . . . to hear mountebanks harangue, to see bears dance, and to set dogs at oxen. Rubbish was shot in every part of the area. Horses were exercised there. The beggars were as noisy and importunate as in the worst governed cities of the Continent. . . . The whole fraternity knew the arms and liveries of every charitably disposed grandee in the neighbourhood, and as soon as his lordship's coach and six appeared, came hopping and crawling in crowds to persecute him. These disorders lasted, in spite of many accidents, and of some legal proceedings, till, in the reign of George the Second, Sir Joseph Zebyll, Master of the Rolls, was knocked down and nearly killed in the middle of the square. Then at length palisades were set up, and a pleasant garden laid out." \*

"St. James's Square was," at this time, "a receptacle for all the offal and cinders, for all the dead cats and dead dogs of Westminster. At one time a cudgel player kept the ring there." †

At the commencement of the last century, the difficulty and danger of walking about London were very great. The garret windows were opened, and pails were emptied with little regard to those who were passing below.‡ But this was by no means the worst calamity that awaited the passer through our streets. Robbery was at that period carried on on a fearful scale in the streets of London, even by daylight. House-breaking was of frequent occurrence by night; and every road leading to the metropolis was beset by bands of reckless highwaymen, who carried their depredations into the very heart of the town. Respectable women could not

\* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i., c. iii., p. 353.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* p. 355.

venture in the streets alone after nightfall, even in the City, without the risk of being grossly outraged. In the beginning of 1720, we learn from the papers that ladies of condition, when they went out in their chairs at night at the Court end of the town, were often attended by servants with loaded blunderbusses "to shoot at the rogues." \* The newspapers of this period are filled with accounts of robberies of various kinds of the most daring description, from which I will read a few extracts :—

1720. "*Sunday, January 24th.*—At eight o'clock in the evening two highwaymen attacked a gentleman in a coach on the south side of St. Paul's churchyard, and robbed him."

"*Monday, 25th.*—As the Duke of Chandos was coming into town at night from his house at Canons, he was attacked by five highwaymen, but his servants were too strong for them. They had already committed several robberies on the road."

"*Tuesday, 26th.*—The Chichester mail, going from London about three o'clock in the morning, was attacked by highwaymen in Battersea bottom, and robbed of its letter bags."

"*Wednesday, 27th.*—The Bristol mail was robbed on its way to London, and a considerable sum of money taken in bank bills enclosed in the letters. The same night an extensive robbery was perpetrated at Acton, and a booty of about £2,000 taken."

On one day we are told that "all the stage coaches coming from Surrey to London were robbed by highwaymen."

"*Tuesday, February 9th.*—A Member of Parliament, with two ladies, returning in a coach from a party near Smithfield at eleven o'clock at night, was dogged by three highwaymen mounted, and three on foot, till they came to Denmark Street, St. Giles's, where their coach was stopped, and they were rifled of money and jewels to the value of about £250. The robbers drove away the watch, and fired two pistols to frighten the ladies when they screamed for help."

"*Barnet, July 6th.*—This morning about four o'clock the Northampton and Huntingdon coaches were robbed by two stout fellows masked, but the face of one of them, his mask not being large

\* Wright's "England under House of Hanover," vol. i., p. 52.

enough, did in some measure appear to be full of pock holes with a short chin. They took from the passengers a silver-hilted sword, a little bruised at the upper end of the bow, a mourning ring of Sir Charles Adderley, and an old silver watch, engraved on the face of it in a small letter, Chapeney. 'Tis wished that by these circumstances they may be detected, and that some honest man may be thereby entitled to the reward of £40 for each of them, according to the Act of Parliament.

"One of the gentlemen they robbed was a reverend and worthy clergyman."

An advertisement of this period, which notifies the apprehension of two persons who are suspected of housebreaking and robbing on the highway, thus describes them :—

"They both wear wiggs, one has a frowning downish look, the other has very high cheek-bones. They had, when seized, a pair of pistols each, two large knives, a chissel without a handle, a sack, and two cords, with tinder boxes, matches, and gunpowder. One rode on a grey mare, the other on a bay mare ; they had no boots, only spurs, and it is expected there are more in the gang. Any persons who have been robb'd, are desir'd to go and view them in the Marshalsea."

The following is from a newspaper of the year 1722 :—

"*London, January 11th.*—There were no Western Letters yesterday, the Mail being robbed on Monday last, between eleven and twelve at night, in the road near Chinoch, in the Midway, between Crewkern and Sherburn, by one footpad, who carried off the bags belonging to all the towns between the Lands End and Yeovil."

The unfortunate Western Mail was soon again in trouble.

"*London, February 22nd.*—The Western Mail being robb'd on Tuesday morning about four, near Sherburn, in Dorsetshire, by two footpads, who tied the post-boy, and carried away the Plymouth and Exeter bags, there are no letters from the West this post."

It would appear that in this latter case the offenders were detected and brought to justice, as the following notice appears in one of the subsequent journals :—

"*London, March 15th.*—On Friday last, one Bruckfield, a trooper, was tried and convicted at the Assizes held at Dorchester, for robbing



the Western Mail near Sherburn; the other person apprehended for the same fact being unwarily drawn in, was admitted evidence against him; and the said Bruckfield was sentenced to be executed, and afterwards to be hang'd in chains."

The spectacle of a man suspended from a gallows, his body fastened to it by a chain composed of links of iron, and which was left there until it turned into a skeleton, and by degrees fell to pieces, was not an uncommon one at this period, especially on the spots where four roads met, some of which still go by the name of the gibbet. The gallows was generally erected near the scene of the robbery. In the diagram before you, you have a representation of a man hanging in chains, dressed in the clothes in which he was apprehended. In the distance is seen a coach travelling along in the moonlight, and another highwayman on horseback, sitting behind a thicket, with a pistol in his hand, ready to attack the coach when it comes up. Another gallows, the body beneath it reduced to a skeleton, is seen on the further part of the common. Persons of a respectable station in life were occasionally suspected of being concerned in these depredations, which must have been sometimes productive of considerable booty.

*"London, September 8th.*—On Thursday last, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the Canterbury coach coming up to London was robb'd by one highwayman on Bexley Heath; two countrymen that immediately came by, having notice of it, pursued and overtook him on Blackheath; and he, finding it impossible to escape, pistoll'd himself at the right ear, and instantly fell down dead from his horse. He was a thin man, about 23 years old, very well dress'd, and by his awkward management he seem'd to be no great proficient in that sort of business. His body now lies at the Green Man alehouse, at the lower end of Blackheath."

*"London, September 15th.*—We hear that the highwayman that shot himself on Blackheath, was a young gentleman belonging to the sea, that his name was Whittaker, and that he was of a good family, not far from this City."

A subsequent journal mentions that the highwayman in

question was brought in by the coroner as a self-murderer, wrapped in an old blanket, and buried on Blackheath, and that a stake was driven through his body.

Occasionally, however, some of the depredations of this period were committed in the most open manner, large bodies of persons going about armed, and setting at defiance the laws and government of the country.

The *Daily Courant* of 1718 records the following :—

“*June 26th.* We hear a great number of men arm’d, did lately come several times in the night in a riotous and tumultuous manner into the Lord Bishop of Winchester’s Park at Farnham, particularly on the 2nd of this instant June, between the hours of twelve and one in the night, and fired at the deer, horses, and cattle there, and then shouted very often, speaking many disrespectful words of His Majesty and Government, and threatening to kill the men and cattle in and about the castle and park ; and several deer, (besides what might be kill’d and carried off,) are wounded and lamed, and one horse kill’d on the spot. And on Saturday the 21st instant, a great number of men arm’d came again into the said park, and set fire to the lodge, standing about ’till it was burnt to the ground ; after which they gave a volley and huzza, declaring aloud they would do further mischief, by setting fire to the castle, and leave no living creature in the park.”

At the Old Bailey Sessions held during January in the same year, 1718, among those sentenced to death were, one for murder, five for robberies on the highway, three women for breaking open houses in the day-time, a boy for shoplifting, and a man for stealing a woman’s pocket. We are also informed by one of the journals that—

“John Price, late hangman, is to be executed next Wednesday in Bunhill fields, but is not to be hang’d in chains ; three or four of the malefactors condemned along with him are to die the same day at Tyburn.”

So late as the year 1736, London could boast of no more than about 1,000 lamps, which were kept burning only till midnight in the winter. During the summer half-year, they were not lighted at all. Indeed, had it not been for the

numerous link-boys in every public street, a night walk in London would have been impossible. But sometimes even these link-boys were in league with the thieves and night prowlers, and thus the link often went out, as if by sheer accident, in the very worst place for such an accident to happen, and the poor traveller was suddenly knocked down by robbers in league with his conductor.

On the 23rd of January, 1720, a proclamation came out offering a reward of £100, in addition to the previous inducements, for the capture of any highwayman within five miles of London; the main effect of which was to place considerable sums of money in the pockets of the notorious Jonathan Wild, who secured several offenders in and about the metropolis within the space of two or three weeks. Of these, it was observed that several, on examination, proved to be persons moving in their class of society as honest and respectable men. Among them are mentioned a tradesman of good repute in London, the valet of "a great duke," and the keeper of a boxing school.\*

The celebrated Henry Fielding, author of "Tom Jones," who was a London police magistrate, in his work on the "Increase of Robbers," mentions that in his day tradesmen who were unable to meet their payments took, very often, to the highway, and adds,—“Nay, I remember very lately a highwayman who confessed several robberies before me, his motive to which, he assured me, (and so it appeared,) was to pay a bill that was shortly to become due.”†

In 1728 the robberies of persons in the streets of London and Westminster had become so frequent that it was deemed expedient to issue an order in Council to prepare a proclamation for putting the most speedy and effectual stop to these evil practices.‡

Some time after this, in the year 1744, I find on reference

\* Wright's "England under the House of Hanover," vol. i., p. 55.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

‡ Harris's "Life of Lord Hardwicke," vol. i., p. 201.

to the Hardwicke manuscripts, that an important document was submitted to the consideration of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, being "Proposals of the Justices of the Peace for suppressing Street Robberies," which at this time appear to have been very prevalent throughout London and Westminster. According to the memorial in question, robberies of foot passengers in the streets were then quite common; and it stated that "all these disorders proceed in a great degree from the gaming houses, night houses, fairs, wells, and gardens, which have of late grown so numerous in and about this town, which, it is recommended, should be suppressed, as also the excessive use of spirituous liquors."\*

I find also, from original documents, that in the year 1751, the king in his speech on opening Parliament found it necessary to exhort both Houses to consider seriously of some effectual provisions to suppress those audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown so frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great measure from that profligate spirit of irreligion, idleness, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itself throughout the nation.†

Mr. Fielding, in his work already referred to, states with regard to the condition of crime in London at this period, that "there are a great gang of rogues, whose number falls little short of a hundred, who are incorporated in one body, have officers and a Treasury; and have reduced theft and Robbery into a regular system. There are of this society men who appear in all disguises, and mix in most companies."‡

He mentions also that the receivers of stolen goods carry on in the most public manner their trade for the disposal of them with Rotterdam, where they have their warehouses and factors, and whither they export their goods with prodigious profit, and as prodigious impunity.§

Mr. Fielding remarks with regard to the extent of the

\* Harris's "Life of Lord Hardwicke," vol. ii., pp. 97-99.

† *Ibid.*, p. 460.

‡ Fielding's "Enquiry," pp. 2, 3.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 70.



buildings in the metropolis in his time, which has since that period enormously increased, that "whoever considers the cities of London and Westminster, with the late vast addition of their suburbs ; the great irregularity of their buildings, the immense number of lanes, alleys, courts, and bye-places ; must think that, had they been intended for the very purpose of concealment, they could scarce have been better contrived. Before such a view, the whole appears as a vast Wood or Forest, in which a Thief may harbour with as great security as wild beasts do in the Desarts of Africa or Arabia."\*

The next of the diagrams which I have to exhibit before you is intended to represent the execution of a felon at Tyburn during this period, and is copied from the celebrated picture by Hogarth, who had probably witnessed many such scenes. The condemned criminal will be observed in the cart with his coffin by his side, and the person attending him appears to be giving him some good advice. The sheriffs are represented as on horseback. There is also seen the gallows towards which they are moving, on the top of which Jack Ketch is very unconcernedly smoking his pipe. The general behaviour of the crowd in those days appears nearly to correspond with what we read of scenes at executions in our own times. Upon arriving at the gallows the prisoner is pinioned, and the rope is fastened to his neck ; then, upon a signal given, the cart drives off, and the executioner hastens the criminal's death by hanging on his legs.

In one of the original accounts in the newspapers of the execution of a poor woman, at this period, for the *atrocious* crime of stealing nine yards of ribbon, she is not only described as very penitent, but fully acquiescing in the justice of her doom.

It has been said that on one particular Sunday there were as many as sixty persons in the condemned pew of the gaol of Newgate, where a poor wretch was always placed on the Sunday before his execution, with his coffin by his side. On the 23rd of April, 1785, no less than nineteen men

\* Fielding's "Enquiry," p. 76.

were all hanged together at Newgate, though not one of them for murder. On another occasion eighteen suffered at once. Executions commenced at Newgate instead of Tyburn in the year 1783. Before this, prisoners were carried in a cart from Newgate to Tyburn. While on their way to the gallows, they always stopped at St. Giles's, where a bowl of ale was given to them, and it was customary also to present them with nosebags.\*

Matters do not seem very speedily to have mended, inasmuch as Horace Walpole writes on the 8th of September, 1782,—“We are in a state of war at home that is shocking. I mean from the enormous profusion of housebreakers, highwaymen, and footpads; and what is worse, from the savage barbarities of the two latter, who commit the most wanton cruelties. The grievance is so crying, that one dares not stir out after dinner but well armed. If one goes abroad to dinner, you would think one was going to the relief of Gibraltar.” In January, 1786, the mail was stopped in Pall Mall, close to the palace, and deliberately pillaged at so early an hour as a quarter-past eight in the evening.†

Some obscurity seems to exist as regards the origin of newspaper journalism in this country. *The English Mercurie*, which was for some time accredited as the first production of the kind, is now generally condemned as a forgery, although it appears to have been not very long after the date of this supposed newspaper, which was August, 1583, that journals of this description were established as a general source of intelligence. The following is a part of the title, or rather the summary of the contents of a newspaper of the year 1623, which is printed on a small octavo sheet, and appears to have been published weekly. It contains twenty-two pages.

“*Number 31. — May 12. —* The Newes of this Present Weeke, relating the late encounter of the Duke of Brunswicke with Don

\* “Horrors of the Gallows,” by the late Chaplain of Newgate.

† Wright's “England under the House of Hanover,” vol. ii. pp. 333, 334.

Gousals. The Great Forces granted by the Turkes to aid Bethlem Gabor. . . . Mr. Tillie's falling into the hand of Hessen. . . . The last newes of the Grisons. Together with the Reports of the death of the Pope, and the great Turke. With divers other memorable occurrences from severall parts of the World."

In the year 1643, which was after the commencement of "the Great Rebellion," we find a weekly newspaper under the following title: "Number 1. *Mercurius Anglicus*; or a Post from the North, communicating his Intelligence to the kingdom for the satisfaction of the People. From Wednesday the last of January, till Wednesday the 7th of February." This journal contains an account of "a defeat of the Newarke forces." There was another newspaper of this period called *The Spie*, communicating intelligence from Oxford. And in the year 1647, one of the journals is entitled *Mercurius Medicus*, or a Sovereign Remedy for these sick times."

These newspapers were, however, rather in the form of pamphlets or despatches, containing detailed accounts of particular events of interest, than miscellaneous records of intelligence of different kinds, communicated in short paragraphs and under various heads, as is common in the newspapers of the present day. Copies of several odd numbers of newspapers of this period are now lying before me. In the beginning of the last century, the public journals began to assume the style and character which they now possess, though they were much smaller than any which are current at this time. Those of the former period are usually published on a half sheet of paper, and contain a column or two of miscellaneous intelligence, both domestic and foreign, and a good deal of political discussion, especially in the form of letters. The Parliamentary debates and the law reports did not then form a portion of newspaper intelligence, nor even the births, marriages, and deaths, so essential an announcement in a modern newspaper. Political proceedings, either in Parliament or elsewhere, are, however, noted; and though the *Court Circular* had not come into existence, we have frequent accounts of the movements of

the various members of the Royal Family. Towards the close of the reign of Queen Anne, on the 1st of February, 1713-4, appears a proclamation which is dated at Windsor, and signed by Lord Bolingbroke, about the meeting of Parliament, in which Her Majesty communicates to her loving subjects her political intentions and her physical ailments, in the following quaint language, with which the proclamation opens:—

“Although an aguish disposition, succeeded by a fit of the gout, has detained us at this place, longer than we designed,” &c.

The account given in the newspapers of the death of Queen Anne is but brief, and no black edge or mourning in honour of royalty was then in use. Nevertheless, the two newspapers which announce the death and lying in state of Oliver Cromwell are both edged with black.

Perhaps there is nothing which presents a more lively picture of the state of the times than the advertisements of different kinds which are contained in the various newspapers of this period, of which the following may serve as a sample:—

“Ran away from his mistress the 24th instant, a negro man upwards of 20 years of age, pitted with the small pox, hard favour’d, splay-footed, and goes with his knees something inwards, a strip’d linen fustian or blue waistcoat and breeches, and a blue coat. Whoever gives notice of him so as he may be had again, to his mistress at the Hat and Bonnet in the Strand, or at the Pensilvania Coffee House in Birchin lane, shall have 2 guineas reward, and reasonable charges.”

“Ran away from Mrs. Cole in Arundel Street, a negro maid, pretty short, inclining to fat, of a yellowish complexion, down look, about 22 years of age, goes by the name of Kitty, wears sometimes a black and white calico yarn, and sometimes a red and white waistcoat. If she return she shall be kindly receiv’d, or whoever discovers her, and brings her to Mr. Isaac Hill, attorney, in Lad Lane, against Milk Street, shall have 2 guineas reward.”

Several of the advertisements respecting the sale of goods are headed, “A good penniworth,”—“An extraordinary



penniworth ;” and there is one commencing, “Two light chariots to be sold for a penniworth.”

Quack medicines, too, would appear to have been then in full fashion.

“The most volatile smelling bottle in the world ; which momentarily fetches the most dismal fainting or swooning fits, and in a minute removes flushing, vapours, head-ache, dulness, mोगrims, &c. . . . keeps up the spirits to a miracle ; by its use admits of no faintings, but invigorates and enlivens the whole man, recreates and makes cheerful, altho’ never so sad, and in a moment raises all the sensitive faculties.”

Another advertisement commences, “The vapours in women infallibly cured in one instant, so as never to return again.”

Literary advertisements, though not nearly so common as the others, are occasionally to be found in the newspapers of the time of George I. The following is the original announcement of a work which soon attained the highest celebrity, and whose popularity still continues undiminished. It is here put forward as a real story :—

“This day is published,

“The Life, and strange surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, mariner, who liv’d 28 years all alone on an uninhabited island on the coast of America, near the mouth of the great river Oroonoque, having been cast on shoar by shipwreck, wherein all the men perish’d but himself, with an account how he was at last as strangely deliver’d by pyrates. Written by himself. Printed for W. Taylor, at the Ship in Paternoster Row, price 5s. Where may be had the antiquities of York, by J. Torr, gent.”

The following is the advertisement of another work of very great celebrity, though of an entirely different nature from the last. It is contained in one of the public journals of the 6th of June, 1714, and immediately below it is the announcement of the rival translation by Trickell :—

“This day, the first volume of Mr. Pope’s Homer will be deliver’d to the subscribers in Quires, on producing their receipts, or paying their subscription money to Bernard Lintott, at the Cross Keys,

between the Temple Gates in Fleet Street, who having obtained a Licence from His present Majesty for the sole printing the same, will publish next week a very fine folio edition in large paper, and another on small paper."

From the public journals of this period, and more specially from the advertisements contained in them, some quaint though lively descriptions may be gathered of the travelling accommodation afforded to our ancestors, with which the convenience experienced in these days of railroads and steam packets very strongly contrasts.

The *Daily Courant* of the 22nd of May, 1719, contains the following announcement :—

"All gentlemen and others that have a mind to go for Edinburgh in North Britain, a coach and coachman with six able horses will be ready to return from Mr. Rogers's, at the George Inn in the Haymarket, St. James's, the 30th day of May."

Another advertisement is to the following effect :—

"At the Hat and Tun, at the Upper end of Hatton Garden, on Monday the 17th instant, sets out an empty coach for the Bath, and will carry any gentleman or ladies very easonable."

The above relate to ordinary conveyances; but the following is of an extraordinary character, both as regards the nature of the vehicle in question, and the description of passengers sought to be allowed within its walls.

"For the benefit of the distress'd.

"In few days, (if God permit,) will set out for the Bath a large commodious waggon, which will conveniently hold 36 persons; and there being but 6 places yet taken, such weak persons as are willing to take advantage of this conveyance, are desired speedily to send in their names to Robert Knight, waggoner, at the 3 crowns in Arlington Street. The said waggon inns at the King's Head, near the King's Bath, at Bath.

"This Invention is of the same nature of Mr. Green's carriage to Scotland, but much improv'd as containing 3 times the number of passengers."

I will now say something on a subject which possesses a peculiar interest so far as it is especially calculated to afford

an insight into the manners, and customs, and taste, and feeling of the period. I allude to the style of costume and dress by which our fair and gallant ancestors of these days were distinguished. During the reign of William III. it was the fashion for gentlemen to appear in square cut coats, and waistcoats of equal length reaching to the knee, but hidden by the long stockings which were drawn up over them ; long neck-cloths of Flanders or Spanish point lace ; shoes, the upper leathers of which rose considerably above the instep, and were fastened by a small strap over it, passing through a buckle placed rather on one side ; hats bent up or cocked all round and trimmed with feathers ; fringed gloves and monstrous periwigs, which it was the strange fashion to comb in public.\*

The two first figures in the diagram, illustrative of this portion of my subject, and preserved among the archives of this Society, represent a lady and gentleman of fashion in the costume of that period.

The singular and distasteful custom of patching the face was, at the time of which we are now speaking, carried to a great extent.†

General extravagance prevailed in the fashions of dress from the earlier part of the reign of George II. to the middle of that of George III. The hoop-petticoats had been a subject of scandal in the time of George I., but the circular hoops of that period were moderation itself in comparison with the extent of robe given to the ladies of the following generation. At the middle of the century the hoop began to be made of an oval form, instead of circular, and an immense projection on each side of the body made some of the satirists of the day compare a fashionable woman to a donkey with a pair of panniers. The unsightliness of this costume was increased by the use of a loose flowing robe, called a sack. In 1747, the great objects of scandal in the dress of the ladies were hoop-petticoats and French pockets, both of which are represented as being very indecorous. The hoop-petticoat and its inconveniences was made the subject

\* "Pict. History of England," vol. iv., p. 801.

† *Ibid.*, p. 803.

of innumerable caricatures, many of them in the highest degree indelicate. A great outcry at this time was also occasioned by the practice of leaving bare too much of the neck and shoulders and wearing the hoop petticoats short.\*

Hoop-petticoats disappeared early in the reign of George III., and were followed by enormous head-dresses. This latter fashion was imported from France. With the commencement of the reign of George III., it appears, however, that hair-dressing became an intricate and difficult science, and was made the subject of several elaborate publications. To raise up the lofty pile of hair, and fill it out with materials to give it due elasticity, to arrange the vast curls that flanked it, and to give grace to the feathers and flowers with which it was crowned, required no mean skill, and no slight perseverance to accomplish. The interior of the mass which rose above the head was filled with wool, tow, hemp, and the like; one can hardly think that the head itself was filled with anything much better. A lady of this period is represented as being asked how long it was since her head had been opened or repaired. The satirists of the day lament over the devastation committed throughout the feathered creation in order to supply this borrowed plumage; and represent the unfortunate bipeds of the wing wandering about quite bare.

The accompanying diagram, which is copied from a caricature of the time, represents four ladies playing at cards in the costume of this period. Two of the ladies are, I grieve to say, quarrelling, one having accused the other of bad play. Her antagonist is preparing, with considerable energy, to decide the dispute with the candlestick; not indeed by endeavouring to throw *light* on the matter, but by hurling the candlestick at her opponent's head. The caricature was entitled, "Settling the odd trick," and bears date Feb. 26, 1778.†

But the gentlemen as well as the ladies had their turn in

\* Wright's "England under the House of Hanover," vol. i., pp. 356, 357.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 359-362.



the indulgence of these frivolities. Extravagance in male fashion followed close upon the heels of extravagance in the other sex. Some of them, as in the case of our friend in the diagram, were distinguished especially by an enormous knot of artificial hair behind, as though they were very desirous of being supposed to be afflicted with cancers at the backs of their heads; perhaps in order to account for some of the absurdities which they committed through their brains being affected. They wore very small cocked hats, carried enormous walking sticks with long tassels, and were dressed in jackets, waistcoats, and breeches of very close cut. The dress of these gentlemen, who went by the nickname of *Macaroni's*, and of one of whom you have a representation in the diagram before you, received some alterations during the years 1772 and 1773, the most remarkable of which were the elevation of the hair, and the adoption of immense nose-gays in the bosom.\*

Some of these fashions adopted by the ladies originated in Paris, and there it was said that the posterior prominence was turned to a convenient account for the purpose of smuggling brandy through the gates of the city. A caricature of the time represents an English lady arrested by a bailiff, who seizes on the dress, from which the lady herself slips out unobserved, and the man does not for some time discover that he has in his possession only the shell, while the fair kernel has escaped far away; or to use another simile, he has only got the chrysalis, but the butterfly from within has flown.

That which at this period was considered the best advertisement of a shop, was the sign-board that announced the trade and occupation of the owner, and which was gaily painted and gilded. In order to cause this object to strike the eye more effectually, the common traders from an early period had been accustomed to blazon some animal or object upon their sign. When these subjects were exhausted, or when

\* Wright's "England under the House of Hanover," vol. i., pp. 365-368.

fancy became capricious, something more piquant than dull reality was adopted, and hence originated blue boars, black swans, red lions, flying pigs, hogs in armour, and swans with two necks. Then there were multitudes of compound signs, such as the "Fox and Seven Stars," the "Bell and Neat's Tongue," the "Dog and Gridiron," the "Sheep and Dolphin." In some instances the name of a sign was in reality a corruption or perversion of the original name. Thus, the Boulogne mouth became the "Bull and Mouth." The "Satyr and Bacchanals" was metamorphosed into "Satan and a Bag of Nails." The old Puritan sign, "God encompasseth us," was somehow strangely corrupted into the "Goat and Compasses," and may still be seen on a house near the end of Tottenham Court Road. A description of those in London during the early part of the century will be found in the *Spectator*.

These signs generally projected far into the street, where they swung and creaked with every blast; and occasionally in tempestuous weather made a sudden descent upon the heads of the unwary passers-by. For this reason, and on the ground that they intercepted ventilation, they were afterwards ordered to be placed against the buildings as at present. This alteration, however, did not take place until the middle of the reign of George II. Signs have now, and indeed for some time past, quite fallen into disuse in this country, except in the case of inns. In some of the old towns on the Continent, however, every shop still has its sign.

Sedan chairs were used to a great extent at this period, not only by ladies and effeminate beaux, but also by robust men. The bearers, who were generally Irishmen, derived from the nature of their occupation a thickness of leg and strength of calf that became proverbial; and the conveyance itself was a cheap one, as a chair, with its bearers, could be hired for a guinea a week or a shilling an hour. Water conveyance also was much used in passing from one part of London to another; and a person might be rowed from anywhere above London Bridge to Westminster in a boat with

two rowers for sixpence, and with one for threepence. In sailing down the river, people of whatever rank had to encounter a broadside of coarse raillery from every passing boat.\* Travelling on roads does not appear to have improved very rapidly during this period. In Kent and Sussex wheeled carriages were generally pulled by oxen. When Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Ann, visited the stately mansion of Petworth in wet weather, he was six hours in going nine miles, and it was necessary that a body of sturdy hinds should be on each side of his coach, in order to prop it. Of the carriages which conveyed his retinue, several were upset and injured. A letter from one of his gentlemen-in-waiting has been preserved, in which the unfortunate courtier complains that, during fourteen hours, he never once alighted, except when his coach was overturned or stuck fast in the mud.†

With regard to the amusements and places of entertainment at this period in London, Spring Garden was the place of fashionable resort at the beginning of the eighteenth century; and after that Ranelagh and Vauxhall became the favourites of the gay. At these places the trees were hung with lamps, and artificial waterfalls were constructed about the grounds. The whole scene was studded with summer houses that served either for eating ices in, or making love; while music, fireworks, and every variety of entertainment was supplied to the visitors. The theatre was also a fashionable and a popular entertainment, and theatrical representations at this period reached a high degree of perfection under the able management and acting of Cibber, Quin, Garrick, Kemble, and Mrs. Siddons. Costume, however, was singularly neglected by the actor; and, ridiculously enough, all the characters appeared dressed according to the fashion of that particular day. "Even Cato was introduced upon the stage in 1712, in a long wig, flowered gown, and lacker'd hair;" and Cleopatra had on a hooped petticoat, and carried a fan.

\* "Macky's Journal."

† Macky's "History of England," vol. i., c. iii., pp. 368, 369.

The puppet-show was also much in fashion. It was established in the Piazza of Covent Garden, and was attended by a numerous and fashionable company. Subjects both sacred and profane were acted by puppets, and a strange mongrel of the two was sometimes made. The following is an advertisement of one of the performances :—

“ At Punch’s Theatre, in the Little Piazza, this present Friday, being the second, and to-morrow, the third of May, will be presented an opera called the State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man, with variety of scenes and machines, particularly the scene of Paradise in its primitive state, with birds, beasts, and all its ancient inhabitants ; the subtlety of the serpent in betraying Adam and Eve, &c., with variety of diverting interludes too many to be inserted here. No persons to be admitted with masks or riding hoods, nor any money to be returned after the curtain is up. Boxes, 2s. ; pit, 1s. Beginning exactly at seven o’clock.” \*

Hunting was the principal recreation of the country gentlemen at this period, and was followed with great ardour, whether foxes or stags happened to be the object of pursuit. We are also told that when joyous Christmas came round, the mansions of the nobility and squirearchy rang with those festivities that seemed a perfect echo of the Elizabethan age ; and that the master of the house caused the doors to be thrown open that the enjoyments of the season might be as general as the blessings which it commemorated. A multitude of fattened hogs were slaughtered for the occasion, cut into chines, and distributed among the neighbours, and a string of hogs’ puddings and a pack of cards were sent to every poor family in the parish. Then also a double quantity of malt was allowed to the small beer, which was set running in the hall for every one that called for it, while the table was continually loaded with rounds of beef and mince pies. And in the evening, when the Christmas sports of the happy yeomanry were making roof and rafter shake, as if they too were alive with merriment, the good-natured landlord would come and

\* “ Pictorial History of England,” vol. iv., p. 826.



look in upon their festival, and enjoy the fun and practical jokes that were going their rounds.\*

The family carriages in which persons of property at this period travelled to London, of one of which you have a representation in the diagram, were so commodious as to hold seven inside, besides a lapdog or two. And it is recorded to their credit, as showing the care which those who rode in them took to provide against the horrors of famine, that they were generally accompanied on their journey by a travelling larder of baskets of plum-cake, Dutch gingerbread, Cheshire cheese, Naples biscuit, neats' tongues, and cold boiled beef. It cannot be supposed that ladies who were so skilful in the medical art omitted the proper precautions to provide against the approach of maladies by the way. They therefore carried with them a proper supply of bottles of usquebaugh, black cherry brandy, cinnamon water, sack, tent, and some good strong beer. The fair ladies and their accompaniments were protected against robbers by means of a basket-hilted sword, a Turkish cymeter, a blunderbuss, a bag of bullets, and a great horn of gunpowder.†

As regards architecture in this country, some of the vilest specimens of it which were ever produced are undoubtedly to be found among those which sprung up during the period of which I am now speaking. Of these, perhaps, our public buildings and palaces are the most execrable ; and probably, as regards genuine unadulterated ugliness, that ancient residence of our sovereigns, St. James's Palace, would carry away the palm. The history of this hideous pile is nevertheless somewhat more interesting than is the appearance of the building. It seems that one of the regal dwellings erected by Henry VIII. was the edifice which now bears the name of St. James's, because it stands upon the site of an hospital for lepers, which was dedicated to that apostle. It was instituted by some inhabitants of London, as it is supposed, long before the

\* "Pict. History of England," vol. iv., pp. 831, 832.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 832, 833.

Norman invasion, for fourteen females and eight brethren to perform divine service. The establishment was settled in this place as being proper for keeping an infectious disease at a distance from the city, since the building stood in open marshy fields, eight hides of which, as well as other property, it was endowed with. The greatest part of the old building was taken down by Henry VIII. who drained and planted the park behind it, and erected the palace of St. James's. In front of the building was formerly an ancient tessellated conduit, for supplying the district with water; from which the field where it stood was named Conduit Mead, after which the present Conduit Street was called, although the exact site of the conduit itself is supposed to be St. James's Square. St. James's Palace does not appear to have been the actual seat of Royalty until Whitehall was burnt, when it became the winter residence of the English sovereigns, who have greatly improved it. In particular, the park was considerably enlarged by Charles II., who added to it several fields, planted the lime trees, and laid out the Mall.\*

The taste for gardening and laying out grounds improved in this country with the advancement of the other arts. As regards English gardens, the period when artificial design was carried to the greatest height was probably the end of the sixteenth, or the commencement of the seventeenth century, when our pleasure grounds were characterized by numerous terraces with steps leading from one to another, guarded with stone balustrades, and decorated with vases, sculptures, and metal statues; and by canals and a thousand devices of waterworks, both open and concealed, to play off suddenly and wet the spectator, or form a cool walk of arches of water. The parterres were made in fantastic shapes, with patterns like embroidery, and names and inscriptions in box, or trees trimmed into singular forms, called topiary works some being cut like animals and castles, and one is mentioned in the form of a wren's nest large enough to accommodate a

\* Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii., pp. 171, 172.

person with a seat within. Labyrinths also formed one of the features in early English gardens. There were also, sometimes, decoys for waterfowl, bowling-greens, and alleys for shooting at butts with bows and arrows, having beside them short trees, the tops whereof were cut into seats for ladies to view the sport. These seats were also made in parks to overlook the deer-shooting. The period of the Revolution only brought an increase of Dutch taste and additional formality into the English gardens; and in that of William III., at Kensington, the hedges were shaped into the figures of fortifications, one part being known by the name of the siege of Troy.\* Of this style of gardening, the diagram may serve to afford you some idea. The trees, principally yew, are cut into various rude shapes. One group is intended to represent the temptation of Adam and Eve, another the siege of Troy, and another a coach and horses. In the foreground is seen a party of ladies and gentlemen arrayed in the costume of the time, who appear bent on an evening excursion. This state of things still exists as regards the gardens in Holland, and at the village of Brock, near Amsterdam, which I visited some years ago, the gardens are trimmed in the neatest style, adorned with shells, and intersected by small canals. And so particular are the good people of this place about carrying their notions of decorum and order to the utmost length, that there is a tradition that the pastor of the parish was once reprimanded by his congregation because he was so thoughtless and negligent as to ascend the pulpit stairs when they were quite new, without first taking off his shoes.

The first attempt at a reformation of this bad taste in gardening in England, was made by a fashionable designer of gardens, named Bridgeman, early in the eighteenth century. He banished the sculptures of box and holly, turned many an Adam and Eve out of a garden, and demolished the fortifications of Troy far more speedily than their Grecian

\* Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii., pp. 214, 215.

assailants could accomplish such an undertaking. He, nevertheless, still retained straight walks and high-clipped hedges, but he diversified his grounds by wildernesses and groves of oak. He is also supposed to have introduced the sunk fence for boundaries instead of walls—an attempt, says Horace Walpole, considered so astonishing, that the common people called them Ha! Ha's! to express their surprise at the sudden termination of their walk. He was followed by Kent, the architect, whose ability as an artist enabled him to give a fine perspective and picturesque effect, as well as to adorn the termination of his walks with seats and temples, either delineated by the pencil or erected in stone. He was also peculiarly skilful in the management of water, which he laid through the pleasure ground with easy and natural streams; and he gave all its effect to forest-scenery, only rendering the approach to it more gradual and pleasing. Other artists in this line have carried on this pursuit and brought it to a still higher state of perfection,\* the ultimate point of which is to preserve nature without disfigurement, correcting only those redundancies and irregularities into which wild growth will of itself without restraint necessarily occasionally run. Thus, as I observed in my first paper, the fairest notion which we obtain of scenery in this country in its primitive state, may be obtained from occasional views in our parks and chases, where nature, thus far only restrained, has been allowed full scope to develop her beauties, and to luxuriate in her own way. So far, and in such a fashion as this, may we be allowed to retrograde instead of progressing; and the further we advance in civilization, in many respects, the farther we wander from, and are apt to disregard those pure and exalted precepts which nature herself has contributed. The legitimate object of civilization, however, as is the case with art, is not to do violence to, or to counteract nature, but merely to correct its course, and to direct in the proper channel, not to obstruct or divert, the stream. The

\* Thompson's "Illustration of Great Britain," vol. ii., p. 216.



truth of this axiom is attested by the records of all history alike. And the annals of each country, more especially its domestic annals, bear indubitable testimony to the fact, that according as civilization reaches its highest point, correspondingly also does nature obtain her most perfect development. The higher the cultivation of the soil, the more luxuriant is the growth of which it is the result. According, moreover, as social improvement and civilization generally continue to advance, and to reach their highest and most perfect condition and development; contemporaneously with this advance are the general welfare, and peace, and prosperity of the nation in which this progress is to be traced.

In bringing the present series of papers to a close, I perhaps may be permitted to offer a few brief remarks on the general topic which they have embraced. I am quite aware that some people, perhaps not the most enlightened or far-seeing, as regards the scope and objects of history, are inclined to regard the particular province of it which I have selected for treatment as quite below the dignity of regular and legitimate history, which they consider ought properly to be confined to an account of the actions of the rulers who successively governed a particular people, and the ferocious wars and political intrigues in which these rulers engaged; and which are by such persons deemed to be the most important, if not the only instructive portion of all history; consequently that any attempt to give a description of the condition of the people themselves, their progress in civilization, and the pursuits which they followed, should be excluded from the page of history, as too unimportant and too trivial and unimportant to engage the attention of cultivated and enlightened minds. Also, that in papers of this description, the writer ought as far as possible, to confine himself to dry abstruse documents which tend to cast a faint glimmer on some trivial incidents in a nation's career, instead of trying to throw light on the general course of events, from whatever source of information it may be obtained. I have, however,

considered that in dealing with the subject before me, and treating it as a simple and intelligible part of history, I had no right to intrude into the province of the antiquary, whose duty it is to search out and to bring to light documents of undoubted authenticity, and to establish their value in this respect ; although it is no part of the duty of the antiquary to point out their influence on the events of history, or to trace causes and effects in relation to it, as connected with the discoveries which his research has effected. The antiquary supplies food for the historian ; but to consume the food which he supplies is beyond his sphere, as it is beyond the sphere of the historian to supply the food which the antiquary alone can efficiently furnish.

As regards the original authentic sources and materials from which the history of domestic life and manners in times gone by may be derived, consisting mainly of historical relics and ancient monuments, as also documents and missals, with the interesting and instructive illuminations by which they are illustrated ; I have spared no pains to obtain access to these works both in this and other countries, and have carefully gleaned from them whatever of value they were calculated to yield ; while as regards certain other documents of great antiquity, and also of undoubted value and interest in their way, I have not thought it necessary to attempt a display of erudition or antiquarian lore, by wearying my audience with long quotations from them, although so far from overlooking them, they were quite ready at hand for the purpose, some of them even in my own possession.

So far as I possessed the skill to do so, I have striven to render these papers interesting as well as instructive, although I am well aware of the difficulty of combining these two opposite objects ; and knowing the very decided and dogged opinion which prevails with certain people that whatever in archæology or history is really valuable must be necessarily dull and even repulsive ; and that, on the other hand, whatever is dull and dreary (especially if it be so happily

contrived as to be unintelligible also) must be a production necessarily quite full of learning and deep research.

I am, however, at the same time fully conscious that I owe many apologies for the numerous defects which more skilful hands would have avoided ; and can only hope that my deficiencies as they are pointed out may at any rate serve as beacons to warn those who may follow in the same track from falling into those quicksands, or from striking against those rocks of which I have not had the dexterity or the good fortune to steer clear.

## THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION FROM THE ERA OF THE CRUSADES TO THE FALL OF THE EAST (1453).

BY THE REV. W. J. IRONS, D.D., BAMPTON LECTURER, 1870,  
PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S, F. R. HIST. SOC.

THE compromise between the ecclesiastical and civil powers of the Western Empire, effected at Worms (1122), did not touch the Byzantines. The Roman world, still nominally one, had indeed for 300 years and more maintained the somewhat artificial position which obliged the West largely to ignore the East; and then led the East to regard the West as little more than a dependency. This had grown to be, in many ways, inevitable, even from the time of the Diocletian arrangement of the Empire; and it acquired special force amidst the various partitionings of Constantine's descendants and successors.

The "Roman Unity," which on the whole was upheld East and West, till the close of the reign of Justinian, was fatally broken in the following century by the rise of the Mahometan power, which with rapidity occupied the Oriental provinces from the Euphrates to Asia Minor, and soon also reached the African frontier, and passed on into Spain. The Roman civilization, which became more and more Christian till the time of Mahomet, had then to encounter a new religion, as well as a new power. Unhappily, too, in the remoter East, the Nestorians and other outlying Christians frequently fraternized politically with the Mahometans more than with the Catholics of the Empire. The Deuteronicense decrees in favour of images (787), with the "Caroline Books" which followed, further increased the confusions of the Oriental polity, and frequently reduced the "Roman Unity" to a



mere name, even in regions which yet adhered to the Imperial allegiance externally.

After the time of Charlemagne, and of his contemporary in the East, Haroun-al-Raschid, the growth of the Empire in the West, accompanied as it was by the religious as well as the political enfeeblement of the Byzantine power, made the "*Transition* of the Empire" felt as a reality. The Eastern Emperors had, from the first, governed distant Europe through the local chiefs and kings (who, no doubt, owned as far as they could the Roman legal codes), and in Italy, and in Rome itself even, the Popes at times had acted as Exarchs under the Eastern Emperors. Some political theory of "Unity," more and more vague, thus survived even to the fall of Constantinople (1453), so deep was the general faith in "the Roman Empire" in some form. On the one hand, this conviction enabled the Imperial Government in the East to keep in subordination the spiritual pretensions of *Nova Roma*; and helped to allay ecclesiastical and civil jealousies; but on the other, it gave a natural opportunity to the Papal power, which it used to extend its jurisdiction and that of the entire Episcopate in communion with it. The necessities and the interests of both parties helped to prolong in the East this ambiguous condition of things; while another order of events brought face to face, in a directer form of rivalry, the same Imperial and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the West.

The state of the Oriental provinces of the Roman Empire from the rise of Mahomet, was thus on the whole one of decay, though there were times when Imperial conquests, for example north of the Danube, compensated for losses elsewhere. We find, too, that the decay was very gradual; Armenia, and Asia Minor, and Syria were conquered and reconquered again and again.

A very definite ecclesiastical separation from the West, with lasting bitterness accompanying it, set in from the schism of Photius (869), and after the Council of Constantinople IV. (being the 8th General Council) had in some sort so stereotyped the differences of the churches that it

did not need the attempt of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius (1054) to make the feud irreconcilable. The Eastern Emperor Constantine Monomachus had been anxious, if possible, to make a friend of the Pope, but could not risk the imputation of being unfaithful to "orthodoxy," as Orientalism was now called. Thus a step onwards was taken towards ecclesiastical alienation, and the further weakening of the Empire also.

Everything had tended in that direction from the time of Charlemagne's coronation, which almost ignored the East. Then towards the failure of the Carolingian dynasty in the West (888) the death of Eastern Emperor Basil I. (886) had left his own Empire so reduced that it was unable to take advantage of the position, and recover lost authority in the West. Later on, the personal bravery and skill of Basil II. (1025), which achieved so much, temporarily, to enlarge the limits of the old Empire, after increasing losses to Mahometanism, leaving as he did at his death a domain as large as Justinian's had been, effected no permanent arrest of the Mahometan progress. That was reserved for the West afterwards to accomplish. Everything moved now towards an undisguised collision of the two great divisions of the Roman world, the East and the West.

All Christendom had been demoralized and distracted in the 10th century by the expectation of the end of the world. But after this, more attention was again given to things secular. The efforts also (1073) of Gregory VII. to reform the Church gave fresh, though worldly life, to the Roman obedience, while it enkindled an ecclesiastical ardour which found vent in the Crusades, and vitally changed the order of things, both in Europe and Asia during the next two centuries.

When the Council of Lateran I. (1123) accepted and published the Concordat of Worms, the Crusades had been going on for a quarter of a century ; at the same time the strife in Europe was growing between the Emperor Henry IV. and the Papacy—reaching, indeed, as it did, to the death of Henry V. (1125). Our subject will from this point be best pursued

if we notice (1) the two Crusade-centuries, the 12th and 13th, in their bearing on the questions of Civilization, East and West, in dispute between Rome Imperial and Rome Ecclesiastical. After this (2) we shall come to mark the transfer of the Papacy to Avignon, and its far-reaching consequences; (following the critical times from Innocent III. to Boniface VIII., occupying the 14th century); and then (3) we shall arrive at the more intellectual attempt to reform the Church "in its head and members," especially at the eventful Council of Constance (1414). This will lead on to the wide European struggle occupying the 15th century; the Byzantine Empire finally overthrown by the Mahometans; and then the scholastic philosophy bearing practical fruit in the attempted reform, stirred and greatly guided by the Schools of Christendom.

I. The First Crusade was proclaimed in the West by Pope Urban II. at the Council of Clermont (1095). Henry IV. was still Emperor; and Peter, the well-known hermit, was Apostle of the Crusade. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, had begun his contest. Rumours of the cruelties inflicted on pilgrims to Palestine (then in the possession of the Mahometans) were inflaming the mind of Christendom; and it was regarded as the most urgent and sacred of duties "to deliver the Holy Land from the infidels." This object was, unfortunately, a subordinate one with the chief promoters of the Crusades. In Europe the struggle with Papal supremacy was almost at its height. But in connection with this the Papal claims beyond Europe were not forgotten. The Crusades soon aimed at establishing "fiefs of the Empire," East and West, and thus a Latin power, and so a Latin supremacy, showed itself almost immediately. Godfrey of Bouillon, and his brother Baldwin, and his cousin lost no time. It is said that their armed followers numbered 600,000 men when gathered in the plains near Chalcedon; and soon arriving at Jerusalem (with little sympathy, however, on their way from Constantinople), besieged the Holy City (1099), and there set up a Latin kingdom (confirmed by the battle of

Ascalon), which included Palestine and the chief places on the coast, and lasted between 80 and 90 years (till Saladin recovered it to the Mahometans (1187); notwithstanding the heroism of Cœur-de-Lion and the warriors of the third crusade).

The massacres, we should notice at this point, which followed this siege of Jerusalem, throw a grim light on the religion of the invaders, and disgraced not Christianity only, but human nature. The Order of Knights Templars, with other military defenders of Christianity, which seemed a necessity for humanity itself amidst these barbarities, founded after this time (1118), were at certain seasons protectors of righteousness; but yet these military orders were also soon degraded to the level of the crimes they were intended to prevent. In the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the Feudal Code known as the "Assize of Jerusalem," from the brief reign of Godfrey of Bouillon (asserting something like Christian civilisation), secured indeed the administration of a measure of peace and justice previously little known. But in the wake of the Crusades generally there was no Christian elevation; and not unfrequently, the Mahometan rule was regarded with regret, when "Latin Christianity" had superseded it.

Meanwhile the state of Europe at this time, deserted of the flower of its manhood, was deplorable in the extreme. The Imperial dignity and supremacy in the West grew less and less able to withstand the "Ecclesiastical encroachments," which not unnaturally seemed at times invited by the nations as the only means of holding the commonwealth together.

The Second Crusade (1146) was inaugurated to supply the defects of the First, which had soon failed of all its higher objects. St. Bernard was its preacher, and Eugenius III. its pope.

The Emperor Conrad III. and the King of France espoused its cause, eager to recover those Latin kingdoms of the East which had begun to fall before the Mahometans, from whom they had been wrested; the kingdom of Edessa being among



the first to yield. The 10th General Council had been called (Lateran, 1139) for the "Union of the Churches." The eloquence and influence of St. Bernard, (in whom every one seemed to believe), prevailed at the Council of Vezelay (1146) to stir all Europe. But again the real object of the enthusiasm was not Palestine or the Holy Places. It was Rome and the Latin supremacy. Then, too late, the disastrous fact appeared that the Crusade took the Emperor away from Europe, and from his duties there.

The brilliant Frederic Barbarossa, the second of the Hohenstauffens (the staunchest supporter of the "Holy Roman, Empire"), in an evil hour committed himself to a new Crusade, and he perished (1190) in the East, his work undone, leaving behind him a hiatus in Europe which was never to be supplied.

But Innocent III. was then soon to be Pope (1198), and he showed that the principles and genius of Gregory VII. had not, in the lapse of time, departed from the see of Rome. From the death of Hildebrand to the pontificate of Innocent, more than a hundred years had passed (1086—1198); but it had been a century of consistent advance of the Roman ecclesiastical pretensions and power.

The Third Crusade (1189) was not likely to languish under a Papal fostering which was never lacking. The Emperor Henry VI. inherited his father's zeal for the cause, in which he was really a martyr. The re-taking of Jerusalem by the famous Saladin was the stimulating occasion of this enterprise. But it ended in the full defeat of the Crusaders, and the return of its heroes to their homes.

In their absence a host of seignories, dukedoms, and earldoms sprang up, weakening the Empire; whose claims yet were not wholly cast off, but were used as interest dictated, sometimes for and sometimes against the advances of the Papacy.

The growth of the Italian States, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and others (Venice, once razed to the ground by Barbarossa, 1162), reduced awhile to minor proportions the war of the

two jurisdictions, the ecclesiastical and temporal, which was now always going on ; and the rise of the Free Towns and the Leagues formed among them contributed to the same confused and disintegrating result.

The Fourth Crusade was proclaimed by Innocent III. (1202), and now the dismemberment of the Eastern Empire rapidly proceeded. Innocent III. needed only one emperor, and that one as his lieutenant. The aged Doge of Venice, Dandolo, the chief hero of this expedition, really helped the Pope, though he made his own terms with him. Constantinople was soon taken by the allies (1204). The Eastern Emperor was there dethroned, and the Church reduced to the Roman obedience ; while Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, was possessed of more than royal dignity, still acknowledging the empire and supremacy of the West. (The Latins, however, held their long-coveted prize little more than fifty years.)

But soon the idea of "Crusading" (1261), when the Byzantine Empire was afterwards restored in the Palæologi, became enlarged, so that it was held to include all "holy wars" (1215). At times a "Crusade" might be a war with resisting emperors ; at times with heretical sects, like the Waldenses and Albigenses (regarded as a sort of Manichees). The Friar Preacher Dominic, and Francis of Assisi, and other mendicants, gave their powerful aid, in different ways, to the same crusading theories ; and thus at the death of Innocent III. (1216), not three years after the abject submission of King John in England, the ecclesiastical supremacy obtained a height unknown before in civilization. The Mendicant Orders became the legates as well as missionaries of the Popes, and were revered by both kings and peoples, though these also soon became too numerous and were as oppressive as the Templars and Hospitallers had been (1179). They were, however, one means of advancing the principles of social rule taught from the times of Hildebrand to Innocent, and were destined to influence, if not rule, the Church and the Latin world for another century, when Boniface VIII. (1303) left the pontificate to the Popes of Avignon.

The study of the Roman law, the centre of the Imperial unity, now became a fresh necessity, in proportion as the work of government was thrown into the hands of ecclesiastics, by the civil disorders of the times. This took a form which permanently affected the still advancing civilization. The Decretum of Gratian (1152), separating the canon law from the civil, was studied, as afterwards were the Decretals (1235), in the schools of Bologna and Oxford, and built up the Papal power on legal, and supposed traditional, foundations. Generally speaking, the episcopal and monastic schools of Europe, though deprived of much support from without, grew in influence, were respected as refuges, and became the homes of a civilization to come; ancient philosophy was revived. Before printing was known the Biblia Glossata of the schools also wonderfully penetrated the West. But the laity of Europe were, in fact, soldiers or agriculturalists, content with the spoil, and they resolutely chose to leave to ecclesiastics the preservation of the thought and literature of the past, and the promoting of the culture of the future.

It is a common thing, and it provokes one's patience that it should be so, to hear the best learned and most thoughtful teachers of scholastic times referred to with an air of *hauteur* by men of our day as examples of frivolous ignorance, and as stopping the progress of knowledge by "useless and barbarous subtilties." Some childish reference to "Bacon's inductive method," as a "discovery" to the human mind, is held to complete the criticism due to the great instructors of the "Middle Ages." With these persons, who show few signs of having read a page of Aquinas or of Aristotle, who has probably influenced the thought of the world more than any single man that ever lived, it is, however, hopeless here to speak. A great modern writer, Dean Milman, who knew what he was writing of, gives a truer estimate both of Aristotle and of Aquinas when he says in his "Latin Christianity," c. xiv., c. iii., pp. 282, 283, that Aquinas may be "classed with Aristotle and Augustin among the few master-minds that have left their impress in the development of human thought,"

and as more nearly approaching than most, either philosophers or divines, "to pure embodied intellect, without polemical anger or ecclesiastical jealousies, loving *nothing but naked, absolute truth.*"

In the midst of the crusading mania, these scholastics saved Europe from utterly lapsing into barbarism. We have here referred only to the earlier crusades, and have seen that they disgraced the Christian name and arrested progress in both East and West. Albert the Great at Cologne, Aquinas in his chair at Paris, 600 years ago, and their illustrious coadjutors steadied their thought to examine the contemporary philosophies of the Arabic schools, Cordova, &c., in the silence of their cloisters and libraries,—the world's libraries,—amidst all the din and noise of the fourth Crusade, and through the four or five so-called "Crusades" that followed, on which there is no need now to dwell. But let us not fail to observe, that to "the Schools" we owe it, among other things, that the Papal supremacy found an intellectual check, which was afterwards available.

For the time being, however, and while reform was pending, advantage was skilfully taken at Rome of the Mahometan and other troubles of the East to bring the Oriental Church to acknowledge in some sort the "Roman obedience," and with that view the second Council of Lyons was called. Aquinas was on his way to attend it when he died (1274). The result is known. The Council was of course abortive. But we must not linger.

II. It is time that we pass to the following century, that of the Popes of Avignon.

The sway of the Seljuk Turks in the East had given way to the Ottomans, as the 13th century departed. Pope Boniface VIII. died at the beginning of the 14th century (1303), loved and respected by none; but having carried to its climax the theory of Innocent III. and Gregory VII.

A new scene opened both East and West. The Knights Templars were now dangerous, and were suppressed in the Council of Vienna (1311). The chronic republicanism which



periodically visited Italy and Rome (especially since Arnold of Brescia, 1143—1153), broke out afresh in Rienzi (1350), and induced the Popes, with all their exalted and unmanageable theory of supremacy, to seek a quieter home under the protection of the French king Philip the Fair. Clement V. purchased such quietude perhaps for a time at the price of undoing the grosser tyranny of Boniface VIII. But the Papal court was formally transferred to Avignon (1309), and continued there through five pontificates (1370). The Pope then reigning, Urban V., made an attempt at that time to restore the Holy See to Rome, (being urged by the Emperor Charles IV.), but even he returned to die more peacefully at Avignon, than he could expect to do at the "eternal city" (1370). During his Papacy the Eastern emperor, John Palæologus (1369) went to Rome to effect, if it might be, a reunion with the Holy See, being pressed by the Ottoman Turks. A Crusade had been again feebly proclaimed (1345), though with little ultimate effect. It was now clear, that the "Roman Unity," both as to the Empire and the Church, for each was essential to the other), had been at Avignon more effectually shaken than ever before.

The successor of Urban V. at Avignon was Gregory XI., who yielded to the pressure put upon him and re-transferred the Papal Court to Rome; but on his arrival there he had to deal with the revolutionary principles attributed to Wickliffe, some results of which had travelled thither from England (1377). The prevalence of disorder in Italy, and the growth of principles incompatible with all government, made this Pope careful of embroiling himself with the Imperial power during his ten years' pontificate, and some social confusion was postponed.

But at his death began the great Schism of the West, in which Emperors and Ecclesiastics and Schools took part. Two Popes were chosen, Clement VII., who took refuge at Avignon (1379), in opposition to Urban VI., supported at Rome. Urban was acknowledged in Italy, Germany, England, Portugal, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia,

and Norway. Clement was Pope in France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, Rhodes, and Cyprus. The question has never been decided as to which was the true Pope at any of the changes. Urban, on his death, after an infamous life, was succeeded at Rome by Boniface IX. (1389); and four years later Clement VII., dying at Avignon, was succeeded by Benedict XIII. The princes of the empire, and large synods held in France urged both pontiffs, the Roman and the Avignon, for the sake of the Church at large, to resign. But both resisted. Boniface suddenly dying at this crisis, another Pope was elected, Innocent VII., to carry on the political and religious schism (1404); as if to show how injurious to Civilization, and how utterly unspiritual in fact, the "Roman Unity" and the ecclesiastical supremacy were, both in Church and State. In two years more, Pope Innocent died, and Gregory XII. was elected; and after this both Popes were deposed, at the Council of Pisa (1409), and a third elected under the name of Alexander V., who died in the following year, and was succeeded by John XXIII. (This new Pope again tried the preaching of a new "Crusade" as a means of sustaining his power. But few listened, and the Pope himself fled from Rome, unable to face the position.)

The Emperor Sigismund was now appealed to, that he might take measures to allay the intolerable evils of Christendom. All order and civil government seemed at stake. The emperor summoned the Council of Constance, the 16th General Council, which affirming (and Pope John XXIII. acknowledging) the superiority of the Council to the Pope, John was solemnly deposed for his enormous crimes, and his competitors Gregory and Benedict were at the same time excluded from the popedom perpetually. Gregory resigned, but Benedict remained obstinate, and had a successor in Clement VIII., who, however, also resigned (1424). Martin V. was finally appointed Pope (1417), with the consent of the Emperor and Council.

This Synod would have more deserved the approval of Christendom, in many respects, but that it outraged human

nature by its diabolical treatment of the Bohemian, Huss, and Jerome of Prague; and rather showed in its general bearing an anxiety to terminate present difficulties, than betrayed any forecast as to the future of European civilization; the progress of which we are here marking.

III. This painful recital, brief though tedious, has been necessary to bring before us the fact that the ambitions, bad faith, and avarice of the powers, ecclesiastical and political, sorely delayed for ages the advance of the Christian social life; which so far as it held on, was principally saved by the Schools. The 14th century had another life running its deep current beneath the surface. Roger Bacon died just before (1292); Dante (1321), Petrarch (1374), and Boccaccio were contemporaries, in the days of the Avignon popedom, while Thomas-à-Kempis followed (b. 1380). These all were leaders of thought, who showed how culture had been silently advancing in the Empire, while the rulers and people were intriguing and fighting.

The centuries of the Crusades had effects little expected on either side. They made the East and West look at one another more closely than they had done before. Theories of the "Roman Unity" were at length seen and felt to be but theories, and they who returned from the Holy Land to their Western homes, must have been frequently wiser and better men than when they left. They brought with them, too, some sense of surprise at the exotic Byzantine refinement, fair even in its decay, which in many ways told on the West, encouraged a reverence for learning, secular and religious, and contributed further to make the ecclesiastical Schools the asylum of all that yet was truest, and greatest, and best in human nature.

But the political condition of both divisions of Christendom, was at the opening of the 15th century, most lamentable. In the East the Turk was gradually but surely becoming master of the whole Roman world; which means that the old civilization was ruthlessly destroyed, and that a new barbarism partially supervened. Early in the century,



the most learned in Constantinople prepared to take flight to Italy, foreseeing, as they did, the approaching catastrophe. When at last Constantinople fell (1453), the Turk was ruler of the East, and had a larger empire than had Justinian. The result was to close for ever there, all questions of ecclesiastical supremacy. The disputes of a Photius, or a Michael Cerularius, shrink into nothing; and the theories of Innocent III. as to his divine lordship of the world are equally extinguished in the presence of facts. The world-wide empire of Rome and the world-wide spiritual jurisdiction the Church had, in some sort, co-existed for ages, with mutual allowances and inconsistencies. But, strictly speaking, they lived together, and they fell together. The invention and use of printing began, giving to literature a supremacy of its own, political and religious. In a generation after the fall of the East, William Tyndall translated the Bible into then little known English.

The Roman Empire, as it originally extended itself, extinguished or absorbed nations. In its decay, the nations reappeared; and they would hereafter make their own re-adjustments for religion as well as Government. The Western Empire was at its lowest point ecclesiastically and politically when Frederic III.—the last ever crowned at Rome—was its emperor (1440); and when the East perished the West simply stood aghast at the ruin. Roman civilization as such made no more advance. Another schism in the Papacy for ten years even hastened the change, and served to increase the confusion at the time.

In thus reviewing the Christian civilization of Europe down to the fall of Constantinople, we cannot but be struck by the fact that the Imperial and Pontifical Powers, which ought to have been the chief factors in the social advancement, were long occupied in merely selfish and dynastic objects. The schools set up by Charlemagne, or annexed by law to every cathedral and monastery, had developed into universities, and remained the civilizing centres of European life through all the convulsions of the 10th and following centuries; and



the legal tribunals, often associated with the Schools, helped to keep society from dissolution. Modern Europe yet owes a debt of gratitude amidst her advancing Civilization, to the Schools and Schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

The story of the Council of Constance, in its relation to the Christian civilization of that age, has yet perhaps to be fuller written, and its most striking details may be found in the works of the brave Gerson, the Chancellor of Paris, who died in 1429. Principles scarcely distinguishable from communism were so widely disseminated that the existence of society itself seemed threatened. The Council undertook to discuss and deal with these principles. The growth of commercial enterprise, (regulated only by the necessary local institutes of Christianity), was generating semi-socialism in the numerous Free Towns which had joined the Hanseatic League. The Imperial power was at the lowest point; the Papal pretensions were so divided as to be practically shattered. Then in all Europe there was a reaction against the crusading delusion, and the influences of the Schools were telling on the reforming of States as well as Churches. Gerson's own works may be named at this time as high examples of Christian thought. People in fact had been taught to *think*. The "practical" sciences also, which had been in motion from the days of Albert the Great and Roger Bacon, were promising a future of a new kind. From the discovery of gunpowder to the invention of paper, printing, and engraving, and the mariner's compass, &c. (all preceding the fall of the East), we have manifold signs of the coming civilization which the 13th and 14th centuries had prepared for the 15th and 16th.

People were not always to be dependent on great heroes, or emperors, or pontiffs; but movements of Civilization would come from within, in accordance with the long-proceeding attempts to educate the multitude. Such was the state of things which the Council of Constance had to deal with, and it was only too ready to close in any way the inquiries which were opened. But in truth it never could do that. I

had only to "adjourn" from place to place and from time to time. It undoubtedly settled one fact, viz., that the general voice of Christians in council is higher than other supremacy; and so far it was well. But it settled also in melancholy harmony with the spirit of the uneducated masses, the coercive suppression of speculative errors; not merely by condemning the alleged fatalism and socialism of Wickliffe, written in the security of his English rectory, but by burning the upright, if mistaken, John Huss of Bohemia, and the high-minded though impetuous Jerome of Prague.

Evidently in this 15th century a new and critical struggle of the Christian civilization had begun; but it is no part of our duty in this lecture to record it. We have seen in 1453 the fall of the idea of that "Holy Roman Empire," which the West could never really revive, and the actual subordination of that ecclesiastical supremacy which never truly existed except in relation to the Imperial Unity.

At some future time we may endeavour to watch the formation of the modern Christian civilization from the 15th to the 19th century.

The points to which in these lectures we have desired to fix our attention thus far, are these: (1), The public legal acknowledgement of Catholic Christianity by Constantine, as head of the undivided Roman world; (2), The incorporation of the Christian with the Roman law in the times of Theodosius; and more fully in those of Justinian; (3), The enlargement of the co-organization of the Church and the Empire, (required at Chalcedon), by Charlemagne's and other Capitularies, and by his adding to the cathedral and monastic Schools the noble Imperial Schools of Europe, in which our Alcuin was Charlemagne's helper; (4), The spread of knowledge through the *Biblia Glossata*, as well as by the *Quadrivium* in the 10th century, as by the intercourse and controversy of Christian scholars and those of Mahometanism during the whole unhappy trial of the Crusades (as seen in Averroës, and Avicenna, and Aquinas); (5), and finally, The intellectual life which lived on through

all hindrances, and submitted the conditions of the Christian civilization of the West to the test of right reason, at the time which brought the Roman Empire of the East to its disastrous close, and left the West to make its own arrangements, and dispose of finally shattered theories in the times to come.



## ON CERTAIN POINTS OF ANALOGY BETWEEN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN BAPTISM IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

By J. BAKER GREENE, LL.B., M.B., F.R. Hist. S.

I PROPOSE, with your kind permission to offer some observations upon the close analogy which existed between Jewish and Christian Baptism in the Apostolic Age, and in doing so I will consider this question in its purely historical aspect, without raising, certainly without desiring to raise, any of those issues which belong to the field of religious controversy, and which would necessarily be out of place in such a Society as ours.

Of all religious rites baptism is perhaps the most ancient, the most beautiful, and the most universal. It was known to the disciples of Zoroaster long before Abraham quitted the land of the Chaldees; it was practised by the Egyptians centuries before his descendants began their sojourn by the banks of the Nile; it was observed by the Brahmins at a period so remote as to defy calculation; it was enjoined by Châkya Mouni whilst kings still reigned in Judah. Its forms might change, its effects might vary, but its essential features remained ever the same. In every case it symbolized the striving of the creature by an act of outward purification to render himself as fit as possible for communion with an inconceivably pure Creator. It was the tribute which sinful man paid to a sinless God. Unable to wash his soul, man washed his body, and in all humility trusted that the act might seem pleasing in the eyes of his Maker, and that this outward purification might operate as an inward cleansing of



those far greater impurities with which he knew himself to be defiled. That after a time men should come to regard the mere physical act as necessarily effecting a spiritual change, is simply one out of numerous examples of the tendency of all religious rites to lose the purity and significance which at their origin they possessed.

The ceremony of baptism was well known to the Jewish law. By an allegory easily intelligible it was understood that the washing of the outward person operated as a purification of the inner self, and under certain circumstances such purification became necessary in order to qualify an individual to participate in the spiritual benefits of the children of Israel. The first baptism was held by the Jewish Rabbis to have taken place at the foot of Mount Sinai, when the entire body of the Israelites who had quitted Egypt were baptized. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go unto the people and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and be ready against the third day: for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai."\* To wash the clothes, however, meant to wash the body. Thus Maimonides says:—"Wheresoever in the law the washing of the body or garments is mentioned, it means still the washing of the whole body."† The same authority also says:—"By three things did Israel enter into covenant, by circumcision, and baptism, and sacrifice."‡ But this general baptism which took place in the wilderness was held to operate once for all, not only on the individuals submitted to it, but on their descendants to the latest posterity. They by this act *inter alia* entered into the covenant and became Jehovah's people, and no further baptism was necessary for their children. It might then be supposed that the rite

\* Exod. xix. 10, 11.

† Mickvaoth More Nebochim, pt. 3, c. 33; also Gemara Babyl. Jevamoth, fol. 46.

‡ Loc cit. Talm. Tract. Repud. also says:—"Israel does not enter into covenant but by these three things—by circumcision, baptism, and peace offering, and the proselytes in like manner."

perished at its inception. This, however, was not so, because whenever any one desired to become one of the people of Israel it was necessary for him to do as the Israelites themselves had done before entering into the covenant. "One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you, an ordinance for ever in your generations; as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you."\* And accordingly Maimonides says:—"And so in all ages when a Gentile is willing to enter into the covenant and gather himself under the wings of the majesty of God and take upon him the yoke of the law, he must be circumcised and baptized and bring a sacrifice, or if it be a woman be baptized and bring a sacrifice, as it is written, 'As you are, so shall the stranger be.' How are you? By circumcision and baptism and bringing of a sacrifice. So likewise the stranger through all generations by circumcision and baptism and bringing of a sacrifice. A stranger that is circumcised and not baptized, or baptized and not circumcised, he is not a proselyte till he be both circumcised and baptized, and he must be baptized in the presence of three."† But in the same manner as the children of Jewish parents did not stand in need of baptism, neither did the children of proselytes born subsequent to their admission. The child of a baptized parent was held to be baptized,‡ and the principle was extended to the case of proselytism of a woman who shortly afterwards gave birth to a child. The baptism of the mother operated as a baptism

\* Numb. xv. 15.

† Maimonides Issuri Bia., chaps. 13 and 14. Talm. Babyl. Mass. Jevamoth, fo. 47, is to the same effect, save that it insists on the presence of only two "wise men." According to the Jerusalem Talmud, fo. 46, c. 2, however, a proselyte has need of three. All concur that the baptism should not be at night, and should take place by complete immersion in a confluence of waters.

‡ Selden de Jure. Nat. et. Gent. lib. 2, chap. 2. Lightfoot, "Horæ Hebraicæ" (Matt. iii. 6).

of the child\*—a principle which if it had been adopted by the Christian Church would have obviated an incalculable amount of human anguish. But distinctions were drawn between those conceived and those born in holiness, the former having certain privileges and being liable to certain obligations which did not attach to the latter,† and hence it was the practice when a husband and wife were made proselytes to keep them apart during ninety days in order to determine whether a child subsequently born was or was not conceived in holiness.

Although the Jews were averse to proselytism, they generally admitted children whom they found abandoned by heathen parents or who came into their possession in time of war, and all such children were baptized, and if males circumcised. And it is specially noteworthy that a child was baptized in the name of some person, and according to the status of the person, whether freeman or slave, was the status of the child when it grew up. Thus, if the child was baptized in the name of a freeman he was free, if in the name of a slave he acquired the condition of a slave, and it was a rule that when in the case of male children the ceremony of baptism had taken place, either in the name of a freeman or of a slave, the circumcision should take the same form. "Behold one finds an infant cast out, and baptizes him in the name of a servant. Do thou also circumcise him in the name of a servant. But if he baptize him in the name of a freeman do thou also circumcise him in the name of a freeman."‡

To these well-known social consequences following on baptism St. Paul adverts in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Doubts, if not dissensions, had evidently arisen respecting the social status of slaves who had been baptized, and in order to meet the obvious difficulty St. Paul enjoined that the social

\* Maimonides, Issuri Bia., chap. 13, "A heathen woman, if she is made a proselytess when big with child, he needs not baptism for the baptism of the mother serves him for baptism." Jevamoth, fo. 78, 1.

† Talm. Chetub. fol. 44, 1.

‡ Talm. Jerus. Jevamoth, fol. 8.



status of the proselyte should remain unchanged. "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being called a servant? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord being a servant is the Lord's freeman, likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant."

The practice of baptizing Gentile infants was of frequent occurrence in the Jewish Church. But as a child could not make the necessary profession of faith, it was made for it by the father if the father became a proselyte at the same time, or if there was no father, upon the profession of the Court which approved of it. "They baptize a little proselyte according to the judgment of the Sanhedrin,"\* on which is the commentary, "If he be deprived of his father, and his mother bring him to be made a proselyte they baptize him according to the judgment of the Sanhedrin, that is that three men be present at the baptism who are now instead of a father to him." †

Under the Jewish law the baptisms, or washings, or purifications, as they may be indifferently called, were very numerous, and at the commencement of the Christian era they had sunk to such mere formalities that Jesus reproached the Pharisees for attaching any importance to them. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of them as "carnal observances."‡ But the worst that could be said of the ceremonial washings of the Jewish Church was that they were empty and needless. The laws which inculcated them had the negative merit of being harmless. Their non-observance involved at most ecclesiastical censure. This penalty, if any, could attach alone to him who knowingly transgressed the law. The unbaptized Gentile was unworthy of notice, he

\* Talm. Bab. Erubhin, fol. 11, 1.

† "A proselyte if of age made profession to the Court that he would keep Moses' law. But in the case of minors the Court itself did profess in their name the same thing, just as in the Christian Church the god-fathers do; at least if their parents were not there to do it for them." Selden de Synedriis, lib. 1, c. 3.

‡ Hebrews ix. 10.



was inexpressibly unclean, but he could not be said to stand in danger of being "cut off" from a people to whom he never belonged. Only on becoming a proselyte did he come within the operation of the law. His unconscious child might also be made a proselyte, but on arriving at the years of discretion he might if he so pleased return to his Gentile state without incurring the terrible punishments which attached to apostasy.\* A wise and humane rule declared that one might confer a privilege on a person though he were incapable of knowing it, but one ought not to disprivilege a person without his knowledge. The Council of Trent viewed this point in a different light and anathematized those who taught that any one who, whether willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously, was admitted to the Christian Church could quit its communion without incurring both in this world and the next the terrible penalties attaching to lapsing into infidelity.

It is not surprising that people who regarded themselves as specially set apart by Jehovah from the rest of mankind should look upon the change effected in the proselyte whom they admitted as equivalent to a new birth. In their eyes the result of admission to their society was to create new relationships and to extinguish those already existing. Baptism operated as a new birth, the proselyte was born again. Like the Christian fathers, the Jewish doctors when they once got hold of a principle shrank from no conclusion, however preposterous, which logically flowed from its application. The new birth extinguished the ties of affinity, and therefore removed those barriers to marriage between the closest relations whose general recognition seems to have their foundation in natural law.† This doctrine of regeneration or

\* Talm. Bab. Erubhin, fol. 11, 1.

† "The Gentile that is made a proselyte and the servant who is made free behold he is like a child new born. And all those relations he had whilst either Gentile or servant they now cease from being so. By the law it is lawful for a Gentile to marry his mother, or the sister of his mother, if they are proselyted to the Jewish religion. But the wise men

new birth was familiar to every Jew, and at the interview stated in the fourth Gospel to have taken place between Jesús and Nicodemus, the expression used by the former respecting the necessity of being born again ought certainly not to have astonished a master of Israel. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to point out that the doctrine of regeneration following admission to the status and the privileges of one of God's chosen people was universally understood at the time when Jesus taught, and that such regeneration followed on the observance of a particular ceremony, namely, baptism, which in the case of males was supplemented by circumcision.

The analogy between the Jewish and the Christian rites of baptism is therefore very striking, in fact it is complete. The Gentile could not become a Jew without baptism, neither could he become a Christian. If of adult age the Jewish proselyte was obliged to forswear idolatry and all rites and sentiments inconsistent with the faith of Israel ; \* the Christian proselyte renounced the devil and all his works. Children were baptized by the Jews, the necessary profession being made by certain persons who stood to them in the relation of parents, and Christians baptized children by the aid of " God-fathers who made promises in their name." The Jews baptized the proselyte in the name of some individual, and we have seen that the political status of the latter determined that of the former ; the Christians adopted a similar custom, and at first baptized their converts in the name of Him who was the founder of their faith, thus making them His very disciples, and conferring on them all the privileges attaching to that high calling. The Jewish proselyte was said to be born again, so complete was the change effected in him by his admission to

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have forbidden this lest it should be said we go downward from a greater degree of sanctity to a less, and that what was forbidden yesterday is allowable to-day. Maimonides, *Iss. Bia.*, c. 14. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, John iii. 3. Jevamoth, fol. 22, 1, fol. 62, 1.

\* Maimonides, *Iss. Bia.*, c. 13, sect. 14, 15.

the fold of Judah ; the newly-admitted Christian was in like manner regenerated, so great was the alteration in his condition when he was made one of the followers of Jesus. The Jewish proselyte was assured that he had put off a state of uncleanness and put on one of sanctity and holiness ; \* the Christian underwent the same change, and became sanctified by the washing of water.† We may also add that as the Jews recognised distinctions between different classes of proselytes according to their fitness in respect to spiritual knowledge for admission to the Church, so did the Christians distinguish between those desirous of becoming converts, classifying them as “ audientes,” or those willing to hear the word ; “ catechumens,” those who had made some progress in religious instruction ; and the “ competentes,” or those who had qualified themselves to receive the rite of baptism. Both Jews and Christians considered the approach of Easter a peculiarly fitting time for baptism, the former in order that the proselytes might be able to partake of the passover, the latter that the new disciples might be in a position to celebrate the feast of the Resurrection.‡ Baptism was in fact a Jewish rite which the Apostles, being themselves Jews, naturally adopted without material modification. Circumcision was abandoned because it raised too formidable an obstacle to the admission of the Gentiles. To the retention of baptism none could object. Sacrifice, which as we have seen was the third great element in the admission of the proselyte, had become impossible shortly after the death of Jesus by the destruction of the Temple, and has remained so even amongst the Jews to the present day.§ Dr. Lightfoot, an eminent

\* Maimonides, Iss. Bia., c. 14, sect. 14.

† Ephes. v. 26.

‡ The Council of Laodicea ordered that “ none be admitted to baptism at Easter who does not give in his name before a fortnight, if Lent be out, and that they must all be able to say the Creed by the Thursday before Easter, and that if any be baptized in sickness when they recover they must learn and recite it.” Can. 45, 46, 47.

§ The law expressly forbade sacrifices except in the Temple at Jerusalem.



Hebraist of the seventeenth century, whose thorough orthodoxy none would question, wrote: "Christ took baptism into His hands and into evangelical use as He found it, this only added that He might promote it to a worthier end and to a larger use."\*

When we bear in mind that the immediate followers of Jesus continued like their Master to observe the precepts of the law of Israel, and that it was only after a violent struggle and after much protestation from the believers "of the circumcision" that the great concession was made of admitting Gentiles without submitting themselves to that rite, we shall not be surprised at finding that little or no change was made in ceremonial, and that the same efficacy was attached as of old to those rites which continued to be observed. In their eyes a great event had happened, a glorious promise had been fulfilled, the long-looked-for King Messiah had come, His joyfully expected reign was close at hand. The first element of discord in the infant church regarded those who should be His subjects. What may, perhaps, not inappropriately be termed the Conservative party could not at first bring themselves to believe that the promised King of Israel would admit within the sphere of His beneficent sway any save those who either by heirship or by strict compliance with the precepts given by Jehovah through the mouth of Moses were entitled to the benefits of the covenant. The others, or Liberal party, at the head of which was St. Paul, taught that inasmuch as a very small minority of their co-religionists believed that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah, and as non-believers could not be presumed to benefit at His second coming, such of the heathen as believed in Him would acquire all those advantages which the great bulk of the children of Israel had

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Maimonides, referring to proselytes, wrote, "And at this time when there is no sacrificing they must be circumcised and baptized, and when the Temple shall be built they are to bring the sacrifice." Issuri. *Bia.* c. 13.

\* *Horæ Heb.* Matt. iii. 6.



obstinately thrown away. By means of a judicious compromise\* practical effect was given to the latter view, and the extraordinary energy of St. Paul was rewarded by the foundation of a number of churches composed for the most part of Gentile disciples. But it was arranged that the Jews who were believers should still continue to observe the law and their children to be submitted to the same rites as previously, Gentiles and their children being released from the obligation of circumcision, and being required to abstain from certain practices.

It is extremely doubtful whether any Jews who became believers needed or even received baptism in the form in which that rite was administered to the Gentile proselytes. There is no mention that any of the Twelve were baptized; and it is distinctly stated that Jesus never administered that rite.† The account given in the Acts of the Apostles of what passed in the house of the centurion at Cæsarea in the presence of Peter raises a very strong presumption that baptism was only indispensable in the case of Gentile believers. "And they of the circumcision which believed were astonished as many as came with Peter because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord." And when subsequently justifying himself from the charge of consorting with Gentiles, St. Peter said, "Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that He said, John baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. Forasmuch then as God gave them the like gift as He did unto us, who believed, what was I, that I could withstand God?" It is quite clear, therefore, that although the baptism of the Holy Ghost had superseded that of John, it had not removed the necessity of baptism by water in the case of Gentile proselytes. Whatever may have been the

\* Acts xxi. 25.

\* St. John, iv. 2.

practice with Jewish converts, in the case of Gentiles the baptismal rite was indispensable. For the Jew, baptism might be expedient for the remission of his sins and for his purification on entering on the service of the Messiah, just as many Jews were baptized by John in order to purify themselves in expectation of his advent. But the Gentile was tainted with an uncleanness which could only be got rid of by baptism. On the Jew the effect of the rite would be more limited than on the Gentile. He only stood in need of it for his personal purification, he did not want it in order to become one of that chosen people to whom the Messiah was promised and to whom the Messiah had come. For him, as for the immediate disciples of Jesus, it was only necessary to believe to be saved. The Gentile, on the other hand, stood as an alien beyond the reach of the professed benefits, unless he so to speak, naturalised himself by duly conforming to the law. He was allowed to dispense with the most burdensome of the initiatory rites, but he was not absolved from the remaining one; accordingly in all cases the Gentile convert was baptized.

In the Gentile churches it was natural that differences of opinion should arise, which could alone be properly decided by reference to the Apostle to whose exertion the communities owed their existence. The Jewish believers would naturally in cases of doubt refer to their own law; the Gentiles, already aware of the concessions made in their favour, would hesitate, without the authority of him whom they regarded as their father, to accept the Jewish rules as final.

Now in his first Epistle to the Church of Corinth we find St. Paul expressing views on the effects of baptism\* which were easily intelligible to those whom he addressed, and which would have been as easily intelligible to subsequent generations of Christians if they had only placed themselves in the position of the Corinthians and treated them as the views of one who had studied the Jewish law at the feet of one of its

\* 1 Cor. vii.

then most celebrated teachers. After replying to questions put to him as to the relative merits in point of holiness of the married and unmarried state, the Apostle commands those who are married to continue in wedlock, and extends this precept to the cases of a believing husband and an unbelieving wife or *vice versa*, provided the unbeliever is willing to continue cohabitation: "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband, else were your children unclean (*ἀκάθαρα*), but now they are holy (*ἁγία*)."

That the believing husband should remain with his unbelieving wife, and that the believing wife should remain with the unbelieving husband, in order that the one might be sanctified by the other, was evidently some new rule which St. Paul was laying down for the guidance of the Corinthians, but he based it on a fact which he evidently took for granted no one could gainsay, namely, that the children of such a union, and for a still stronger reason the children of a father and mother who were both believers, were holy (*ἁγία*) and not unclean (*ἀκάθαρα*). Whatever doubts St. Paul felt himself called upon to resolve, whatever questions may have been submitted to him by the Church of Corinth for explanation, no one doubted, no one asked about the spiritual status of the children of believers. Such children, it was agreed on all hands, were holy, and were not unclean. He therefore employs an unanswerable argument, when he says, "How can you, O believing husband, ask whether it is your duty to put away an unbelieving wife because she is an unbeliever, when you know that your children which she has borne to you are holy like yourself? How can you, O believing wife, think of separating yourself from an unbelieving husband because he is such, when you know that your children of which he is the father are holy and not unclean, as they would have been if neither of you had been converted?" These expressions, holy and unclean, were, however, well known to the Jewish law as respectively denoting those who



were without and those within the pale of Judaism, and we have seen distinctions were drawn between children conceived and children born in holiness. The Gentile was unclean. The Jew, on the other hand, was holy because he was a Jew, and his holiness was transmissible to his descendants. The proselyte, as we have seen, acquired this holiness on submitting to certain ceremonies, and his future children were equally sanctified.\*

Owing, however, to a variety of circumstances, in part religious and in part political, the significance of expressions familiar to the founders of Christianity became lost in the post-Apostolic age. The severance between Christianity and Judaism became each year wider, and a new race of teachers sprang up supplied exclusively from the Gentile world, and not only ignorant of, but irreconcilably opposed to, the ceremonial laws of the Jewish Church. The Lord's Day began with sharing the honours and the obligations of the Jewish Sabbath, and it ended by superseding it. And in like manner the baptismal rite lost its peculiar character as the

\* A Gentile was incapable of marrying, and his children were considered *fili nullius*. In fact, those who stood outside the pale of Judæism were deemed by a somewhat strained construction of Ezek. xxiii. 20 similar to the beasts of the field. The children of an illicit or forced union between a Gentile and a Jewess were not considered *memzer* within the meaning of Deut. xxiii. 2, because, under such circumstances, marriage was impossible; but they were sanctified through their mother, and stood in no need of baptism (Jevamoth xlv., 2). Even in the extreme case of a woman *enceinte* being made a proselytess, and giving birth to twins, they were not bound by the law of Levirate, like ordinary brothers, because though they must have had the same father, the contrary (he being a Gentile) was conclusively presumed by the law. If, however, the twins were conceived as well as born in holiness, they were considered in every respect as Israelites, though the father was a Gentile. It will thus be seen that St. Paul simply gave expression to the received opinions of the Jewish doctors in respect to the religious status of the children of what might be termed mixed marriages. Jevamoth, fol. 97, 2; 98, 1. Maimonides, Hilchoth Yibum, sect. 1. Halachah, 1. Iss. Bia., sect. 14. Halachah, 13. Hershon, Genesis according to the Talmud, 360.



exclusive passport of the proselyte and his progeny to holiness, and became shorn of its pristine efficacy. The Fathers of the third and fourth centuries found themselves unable to explain those expressions of St. Paul, which the Apostle regarded as self-evident to those whom he addressed. Having satisfied themselves that baptism was indispensable to every individual, whether born within or without the pale of the Christian Church, they concluded by a somewhat curious inversion of reasoning that by "holy," as applied to the children of believers, St. Paul must have meant children especially fitted or designated for baptism.

Tertullian was supposed to have solved the difficulty by suggesting that the Apostle meant that the children of the faithful were designed for holiness, and so for salvation; otherwise he had remembered the Lord's definition, "Except one be born, &c., he shall not enter the kingdom of heaven," that is, he shall not be holy.\* Origen, though he alludes to the text, leaves the substantial point unnoticed, merely saying that sometimes the husband believing first, saves the wife, sometimes the wife believing first, afterwards saves her husband.† St. Chrysostom goes very wide of the mark, for he interprets the Apostle's meaning of the words, "the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife," that the woman might not fear being made unclean by the cohabitation.‡ St. Jerome, when asked for an explanation of the text, referred his querist to the opinion given by Tertullian.§ St. Augustine, with more frankness than the others, admits that the word "holy" must mean baptized, but insists that the actual ceremony of baptism was performed. "For there were then Christian infants that were sanctified (baptized), some by the authority of one of the parents, some by the consent of both, which would not have been so if when one of them became a believer the marriage were dissolved,

\* De Anima, c. 39.

† Comment, t. 13, sect. 28. Benedict. Edition.

‡ Homil. 19, in 1 Corinthians, sect. 2.

§ Epist. 153.

and the unbelief of the other were not tolerated until there was an opportunity for conversion.”\*

Calvin found a ready explanation of the word “holy” in his cherished doctrine of predestination. According to his view St. Paul meant that a believer’s child might be born to salvation independently of any subsequent baptismal rite, that baptism was merely the seal of that holiness which it had already acquired by the covenant, from which some of his followers drew the conclusion that baptism should only be administered to such children as were thus stamped with holiness from birth—a doctrine which if generally adopted would place those administering the rite in the embarrassing dilemma of being unable to determine save by the wildest speculation what children should be baptized.†

But at the time when the Fathers were called upon to interpret this passage in St. Paul’s Epistle to the Corinthians the severance between Christianity and Judaism had become complete, whilst the eminently proselytizing character of the new Church, with its constant admission of converts, made baptism of such frequent occurrence that it speedily came to be regarded as indispensable not only in the case of the proselyte but even of the believers’ children. The new school of teachers lost sight of the fact that baptism was an old-established rite, invested it might be with a significance which it never possessed before, carrying with it possibly privileges immensely greater than those which flowed from the Jewish baptism, but still a rite which was indispensable for the purification of the proselyte, and for the conversion of the unclean into the holy. St. Paul before his conversion would have declared with the Jewish doctors that baptism purified not only the proselyte admitted to the Jewish community, but his children and their descendants. It would then be strange indeed if he attributed to baptism in the name of Jesus an efficacy less great than that which under the law confessedly

\* De Sermone in Monte, c. 27.

† “Unreasonableness of Separation,” Stillingfleet, pt. 3, sect. 36.

attached to the older rite. Such at least would be the *à priori* inference—an inference so strong that nothing save an express declaration to the contrary on the part of the Apostle could shake its conclusiveness. If, indeed, St. Paul on any single occasion declared that the baptism of the Gentile convert did not equally sanctify his future children, or if on any single occasion he inculcated on his disciples the necessity of baptizing their children, then the presumption that under the new dispensation baptism would be co-extensive in its effects with baptism under the old one, would fail; but if no such declaration is to be found in his numerous writings, if no such injunction was ever uttered by him, then that presumption acquires considerable strength. And it is needless to say, if we find that not only did St. Paul not make any such declaration, or give any such command to his disciples, but that he used language which conclusively proves that he regarded the child of a believer as holy in the sense in which a Jewish doctor would have regarded the child of an admitted proselyte as holy, then, unless language is to be treated as utterly meaningless, we must conclude that however indispensable St. Paul may have regarded baptism for the sanctification of the Gentile, he regarded such sanctification as operating equally for the benefit of that Gentile's children and all his posterity.

It will be seen, therefore, that the important historical consideration of this most interesting subject leads us to the conclusion that in the apostolic age the baptism of the Christian proselyte operated not only for his own benefit, but for that of his children and their descendants; nor is this inference incompatible with those injunctions which are relied upon as inculcating the absolute necessity of baptism. Those injunctions were given neither more nor less absolutely than the injunctions of the Jewish law. A Jewish doctor would have declared that it was necessary for a man to be baptized, to be born again, in order to become a sharer in the kingdom of God. But this change might be effected either directly by the baptism of the individual, or indirectly through the baptism of his parents or ancestors. And so it was in the



Gentile churches so long as they were governed and guided by men versed in the Jewish law. He who was baptized in the name of Jesus of Nazareth was assuredly in the opinion of St. Paul and of the other apostles invested with a holiness not less extensive, not less far-reaching, than he who was baptized in the name of some insignificant member of the community, or even of a slave. Not only he, but his children and his most distant posterity became holy. They became entitled to the privilege of membership in the kingdom of God, or, as St. Paul expresses it in his Epistle to the Galatians, "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ; and if ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." But we have seen that Abraham's seed, the heirs of the promise, communicated to their children through all generations the holiness and sanctity with which they were themselves invested, and the conclusion is consequently irresistible, that in the Apostolic age those who, whether Jews or Gentiles, were baptized in Christ were believed to have acquired not only for themselves, but for their posterity, all that holiness with its attendant privileges which baptism was supposed to confer.

If the view be correct, that in the Apostolic age Christian baptism was invested with the same efficacy as the Jewish rite, and sanctified the posterity of the individual baptized, it may be asserted with confidence that no error has been fraught with such terrible consequences, has produced such widespread mental torture, has supplied the pretext for such bitter intolerance, and indirectly has afforded such plausible grounds for arraigning the justice of the Deity as that committed by the Fathers when they laid down the doctrine that the baptism of the individual was necessary to that individual's salvation.\* The pleasure felt by a woman at the

\* The whole body of Fathers, without a single exception, declared that all infants, born or unborn, who died unbaptized were excluded from heaven. The Fathers of the Eastern Church are, however, entitled to the credit of having imagined a "limbo" as distinct from hell and its torments, where such children were kept to all eternity, and this doctrine



prospect of becoming a mother is of all others the holiest and the purest ; but the conviction that perdition would be the lot of her stillborn child converted that pleasure into terror. From the first instant of conscious maternity to the time when the baptismal ceremony was performed, the Christian mother was condemned by the voice of the Church to unspeakable anguish—an anguish which might at any moment be converted into a life-long remorse by the feeling that she had in her own offspring, by the mere fact of becoming a mother, contributed another soul to the legions of the damned. Those who are interested in such matters will find in the records of the Councils of the Church evidences of the long and relentless struggle between the theologians and the panic-stricken women, who sought by every possible device\* to confer upon their unborn offspring the passport which was indispensable to secure their admission within the portals of heaven. But the Church was relentless. The stain of original sin was the one defilement of the soul, which even it declared itself powerless to cleanse save by the outward ceremony of baptism. It is not, however, at the present day that any just conception can be formed of the universality and the intensity of the mental torture consequent on the uncompromising attitude in respect to the necessity of baptism assumed by theologians. There are doubtless those who regard the disappearance of this sensitiveness with alarm, and who bemoan the effects of what they decry as the advance of rationalism or scepticism. Perhaps, however,

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was never formally condemned by the Western Church. The Council of Trent categorically declared that unbaptized children were damned, and this doctrine will be found enunciated in its most repulsive form in the treatise *De Fide*, by St. Fulgentius, where eternal fire is declared to be the certain lot of such children. The Reformation effected no humanizing influence in this particular. In the Confession of Augsburg the teaching of Fulgentius was indorsed without qualification.

\* These devices were one and all pronounced vain and superstitious, and not only failed to benefit the children, but jeopardized the salvation of the mothers.—THIERS, "*Traité des Superstitions*."

the better and the nobler view to take would be, that the growing feeling of indifference upon this point is only one further illustration of the futility of man's attempts to induce a lasting disbelief in the infinite justice and mercy and goodness of God.

NOTICES OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.  
JOHN ELIOT AND HIS FRIENDS, OF NAZING.

COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES.

BY WILLIAM WINTERS, F.R.H.S.

[*Being portions of a Paper read March, 1881.*]

THE life and labours of John Eliot, together with those of his Nazing associates, occupy no small space in the evangelical annals of New England. As a pioneer and reformer, Eliot stands prominent among the settlers and founders of the New World, surrounded and supported by a galaxy of Essex Nonconformists of the purest type.

It is well known that there is no county in Old England that can claim precedence of Essex for honest and intrepid men, especially those of the Reformation age, who, for the sake of truth and liberty, endured the tortures of the rack and fagot ; and others of a later period feared not to exercise the right of conscience and private judgment in things agreeable to their religious impressions, until, overcome by the heat of persecution, they were necessitated to cross the stormy Atlantic in search of a home in the dreary wilds of the far West. Prelatism then triumphed in its most potent form, and Sabbath sports received encouragement from King James, who, in 1617, expressed his pleasure in allowing the people to exercise themselves after Divine service on Sabbath days ("Oh, name it not in Gath!") in "May-games," "Whitson-ales," and "Morris-dances," which, naturally enough, struck the more sober and conscientious clergy with horror, and which they severely censured. Such clergymen were deemed as being too religiously scrupulous, and tainted with Puritanism.

In "Martin Mar-Prelate's Dialogue," 1640, is a graphic description of what constituted a Puritan:—

“ A Puritan is he that for no meed,  
 Will serve the time, and great men’s humours feed,  
 That doth the self-accusing Oaths refuse ;  
 That hates the Ale-house, and the Stage, and Stews.”

This does not speak very high of those who practised the reverse of Puritanism. It does not, however, appear that the Pilgrim Fathers were recognised as *Puritans* merely, but rather as *Separatists* from the Church of England. “ Puritanism,” says Bancroft, “ was religion struggling for the people.” And Mr. Tryon Edwards cleverly discriminates between the Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritans of New England (see Dickerson’s *Theological Quarterly*, July, 1877).

The year before the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower* set sail for the New World, an Essex vicar, Thomas Drax, published an address, entitled, “ Ten Counter Demands,” to the Non-conformist body, in which he ironically says, “ Whether it were not the Separatists’ best course to return again ; or, if they will not take this course, whether it were not good for them to remove to Virginia, and make a plantation there, in the hope to convert the Infidels.” It is presumed that Drax was a Conformist, and not of the same mind as many of his ministerial brethren, who were just then seriously contemplating leaving Old England for ever.

The names of Ward, Rogers, Hooker, Norton, Eliot, Shepherd, Firmin, Wilson, and those of other Essex divines, are familiar to most readers of the history of New England. Nathaniel Ward, minister of Standon, co. Essex, was, in 1633, proceeded against by Laud for refusing to subscribe to the Articles of the Established Church, and eventually excommunicated. In the following year he sought refuge in America, and became pastor of the church at Ipswich, N.E. N. Ward was second son of John Ward, minister of Haverhill, co. Essex, who was buried in the chancel of that church, and where a tablet is placed to his memory, with an inscription in Latin and English. Dr. Thomas Fuller, incumbent of Waltham, in the days of Charles I., has given a translation of the Latin lines, thus :—



“Grant some in knowledge greater store,  
More learned some in teaching,  
Yet few in life did lighten more,  
None thundered more in preaching.”

N. Ward “had Nathaniel Rogers for his assistant,” in the church at Ipswich, N.E. Rogers was at one time curate of Bocking, Essex ; but after serving that church for about five years, he was suddenly dismissed by his rector, Dr. John Barkham, dean of Bocking, for burying a person without wearing his surplice. Rogers married Margaret Crane, of Coggeshall, and about the same time became the minister of Assington, which office he sustained for five years ; and consequent upon the trouble which he saw looming in the distance, he resigned his living and sailed to New England, where he arrived in November, 1636. His father, John Rogers, of Dedham, died the same year. He (the father) is said to have been one of the most lively preachers of the Puritan age. Persons in the neighbouring villages used to say, “Come, let us go to Dedham, and get a little fire.” Ezekiel Rogers, brother of Daniel Rogers, of Wethersfield, embarked for New England, where he died in 1660.

Nathaniel Rogers, on his arrival in New England, met with another Essex minister, John Norton, a native of Bishop Stortford, who became his colleague at Ipswich, New England.

John Norton, on leaving Cambridge University, became curate to Thomas Bendish, vicar of Bishop Stortford and Arkesden, and eventually resigned his curacy for conscience sake, and became chaplain to Sir William Marsham,\* at

\* The family residence of the Marshams was at Otes, a short distance from High Laver. It was at this country seat that the immortal John Locke spent much of his time during the last ten years of his life. He was treated with great kindness by Sir Francis Marsham and his excellent wife, Damaris, and died here, October 28, 1704. His remains were buried on the south side of High Laver Churchyard, under a black marble slab, inclosed with iron rails, and on the exterior wall of the church is his epitaph in Latin. Born August 29, 1632 ; died October 28, 1704.

High Laver, a distance of seven miles from Epping, where he made the acquaintance of that famous divine, Jeremiah Dyke,\* by whose ministry he is said to have greatly profited. Dyke was vicar of Epping from 1609 to 1639, and was probably well acquainted with the Eliots of Nazing, as his son officiated there prior to his appointment to the living of Great Parndon, about three miles from Nazing, and the same from Epping and Harlow. J. Dyke, jun., had been vicar of Stanstead Abbots. He signed the "Essex Testimony" in 1648 as minister of Great Parndon, and was returned in 1650 as "an able minister." His brother, Daniel Dyke, became a Baptist in 1640, and was the first to suffer for the cause he had espoused. John Norton married while at High Laver, and removed from thence to New England, in 1635, in company with Thomas Shepherd, and became pastor at Ipswich, and afterwards removed to Boston. Thomas Shepherd was fellow of Emmanuel College about the same time as John Eliot, and became lecturer at Coggeshall and afterwards at Earls Colne, co. Essex, where in each place he endured great persecutions; and in 1630 Laud inhibited him from preaching. He then removed to Yorkshire, where he received no better treatment at the hands of Neal, Archbishop of York. Wearied with continued trials, he, with several others, left Gravesend, in the *Defence*, for New England, July, 1635. Shepherd used to say of another of his Essex friends, John Wilson, "Methinks I hear an apostle, when I hear this man." Wilson was a native of Windsor; his father was Chancellor of St. Paul's. He laboured much in the neighbourhoods of Newport and Bumstead, Essex. Through Dr. Barkham he was suspended, simply because a lady compared his preaching with that of Barkham's, which circumstance reached the ears of the doctor. He was soon restored, and as soon silenced, by the Bishop of Norwich; and was again restored by the

\* He had a son named after himself, who officiated at Nazing church about the time that Edward Jude, M.A., resigned. Here his daughter, Elizabeth Dyke, was christened, May 14, 1640, and, on the 29th of the previous month, Nathaniel Dyke was christened.

help of the Earl of Warwick ; but was not long free from persecution, which caused him to join other exiles, who became the founders of the Church at Charleston.

Thomas Hooker, a native of Marfield, co. Leicestershire, was a Fellow of Emmanuel College about the same time as Eliot and Shepherd : he was curate for some time to John Michaelson, rector of Chelmsford, Essex. Hooker at one time kept school at Little Baddow, near Chelmsford, in which office he was assisted by John Eliot, afterwards called "the apostle to the Indians ;" and through the tyranny of Laud he sought refuge in Holland, and afterwards went to Rotterdam, where he joined William Ames, as co-pastor. After awhile he heard of some Essex friends going to New England, and speedily united with them, and sailed in the *Griffin*, from the Downs, in 1633. The celebrated John Cotton was one of the company. Hooker and his friends were the first settlers in Cambridge, New England. Giles Firmin, another Essex minister, emigrated from Sudbury, in 1632, with his father and other friends, to New England. Firmin was born at Ipswich, Suffolk, England, in 1614, and in 1629 he matriculated at Cambridge. He afterwards married Susannah, the daughter of Nathaniel Ward. John Rogers, it is said, was instrumental in his conversion.

Mention might be made of a number of other Essex divines, who once flourished far beyond the locality from which we write, and who, to escape the horrors of the High Commissioner Court, and the persecuting spirit of Laud, fled to New England ; and whose history is of equal interest with those already given ; but our purpose is mainly to record original material relative to that cluster of Pilgrims that resided for years in and around the sequestered village of Nazing, and of which the renowned John Eliot is the most prominent,—

" Ay, call it holy ground,  
The soil where first they trod."

Several American gentlemen during the past twenty years

have paid hasty visits to Nazing and Waltham Abbey, and have examined the registers of each parish for names corresponding with their own, and have not sought in vain ; although no descendants of the early families of Eliot,<sup>1</sup> Curtis, Ruggles, Heath, Payson, Graves, Peacock, Gore, or Uffett, are known to be living in the immediate locality at the present day ; nor are there any kindred names to be found on the old moss-covered tombstones in either of the churchyards. The family of Pegrum claims to have the longest standing in the parish registers of Nazing of any now living ; and these registers date back to 1559. Chief of the inhabitants of the village in the present day are composed of the families of Pegrum, Nichols, and Standingford. \*

At first sight the village of Nazing presents a rather antique and interesting appearance ; and one might justly suppose that little improvement had been made in the neighbourhood for centuries beyond the recent erection of a few new buildings. Many of the domestic buildings, which are shaded by gigantic oaks and elms, the resort of rooks and daws, are, we imagine, much about as they were when the Pilgrim Fathers took their last farewell of the place of their nativity. This "original and select" state of things may, however, be partly accounted for by the isolated situation of the village, it being some distance from the smoke and noise of the "iron horse." The nearest approach by rail to it is either from Waltham, or Broxbourne Station, on the Great Eastern Railway. Several of the old houses inhabited by farm labourers have thatched roofs, gable fronts, low eaves, with massive stacks of chimneys, many of which are built outside. There are other wooden houses of a higher class, with tiled roofs and gable

\* W. H. Whitmore, Esq., of Boston, New England, in his "Essay on the Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts," 1873, says, relative to Waltham, New England :— "*Waltham*, 1737. There are several places of the name in England. Perhaps the best claim can be made for Waltham Abbey, co. Essex, England ; to which place belongs Nazing, the home of the Rev. John Eliot, and other early settlers in New England." There are two other Walthams in the county of Essex, *i.e.*, Waltham Magna and Waltham Parva.



fronts, the upper story considerably overhanging the lower, many of which are very picturesque and others are equally rustic, and built exactly in the same style as the old house erected by William Curtis (a native of Nazing) in 1638-9, "on the margin of a little stream called 'Stoney Brook' in Roxbury, Massachusetts." One would naturally suppose that he had the plan of one of those houses now standing in Nazing before him when he erected that venerable homestead on the other side of the broad Atlantic. If we were permitted to search over some of the old deeds, now in the possession of the owners of these ancestral homes, it is quite possible we might discover the very houses once occupied by the Pilgrim Fathers prior to their departure to America. The Curtice house, on Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, New England, is stated by Dr. Lossing to be yet (1876) standing, and in a good state of preservation; and singular to say it is still in the possession of the Curtis family, the lineal descendants of the original owner. The widow and children of Isaac Curtis, being the fifth Isaac who has occupied the house, and seventh in descent from William Curtis who erected it. In those early days, the locality where the house stands was thickly wooded, which, as we are told, was a shelter for wild deer, bears, and wolves. There is still in the house a pair of antlers taken from a buck's head, supposed to have been shot while drinking at the spring not far from the back-door. The Boston records (*circa* 1658-9), state that Philip Curtis was awarded "twenty shillings for killing a wolf in Roxbury." The old house, as described by Dr. Lossing, corresponds exactly with some now standing in Nazing; the timbers of it are of solid oak, and the nails are all wrought by hand. It is two stories in height, with an attic, and the front entrance is by a small wooden porch, the roof slopes to within a few feet of the ground at the back, and a large chimney rises from the centre which in general is of great support to the building. The original windows were leaden sashes, holding diamond-shaped glass. The furniture is said to be very antique, some of which may have been brought

from Nazing by the Pilgrims.\* We have no earlier documentary record of the antiquity of the village of Nazing, beyond what is mentioned in the Great Charter, *Carta Antiqua* of Edward the Confessor and Domesday Survey. Nazing was one of the seventeen lordships bestowed by King Harold to his college at Waltham. Prior to that, in the time of Edward, there appears to have been another estate here, which belonged to three freemen, and at the survey to Ralph, the brother of Ilgar, when it was valued at £4 6s. The boundary of the parish is given in the Anglo-Saxon charter, of Edward, which is translated thus :—

“These are the land boundaries to Nassingam, that is, from Curlenhatch, along the mark to Scelden boundary, and from Scelden boundary to the brook, and from the brook to Butterwyelle, and from Butterwelle to Thuroides boundary, and from Thuroides boundary again along the mark to Cerlein-hatch; and the meadow thereto belonging lies out by the Lea.” †

Some time ago we were favoured to take tracings of this *Carta Antiqua* and the Domesday Book, both of which are preserved in the Public Record Office, Fleet Street, London. The annexed is a translation of Domesday Book, as far as relates to Nazing :—

“Nasinga has always been held by the Holy Cross [Waltham Holy Cross, or Waltham Abbey] for v. hides. Then there was one team in the demesne, now i. and a half. Then i. team of the homagers, now i. and a half. Always v. villeins: now ii. bordars. Then ii. serfs, now none. Wood for l. swine, xiii. acres of meadow. Half a fishery, i. horse, iv. beast, x. swine, xv. sheep. It was then worth xl. shillings, now lx.”

(See “Domesday Trans.” fol. xxxi.).

\* A full account of this interesting building is given by Benson J. Lossing, LL.D., under “The Historic Buildings of America,” in vol. vi. of Potter’s *American Monthly*, No. 51. The article is illustrated with an engraving of the house by Mr. Clarke, of Jamaica Plain. Miss Catherine P. Curtis, a descendant of William Curtis, still resides on the Plain, and with whom we have frequently corresponded relative to the history of the family of Curtis.

† xxix. “Annual Report,” p. 30.

The parish of Nazing is situated on the north-west corner of the half-hundred of Waltham ; part of it being on an elevation renders it pleasant and healthy, commanding a view over portions of the counties of Essex, Middlesex, and Hertfordshire. From east to west it is four miles, and nearly the same from north to south. It is bounded on the west by the ancient river Lea, and on the east and south by Waltham and Epping. The church stands on a hill and is seen for miles round. This elevated part of the village, we presume, gave rise to its name Nazing, *i.e.*, *Naze*, a nose or promontory, and *ing*, a meadow or pasture, which derivation is in strict harmony with the knoll on which the church is built :—

The well-known park and common of Nazing consisted of 575 acres ; but in 1651, by an indenture of the 22nd of July, an agreement was entered into between the lord of the three manors of Harold's Park, Nazing Great Bury, and Nazing Little Bury, and the commoners, the owners, and occupiers of the 101 ancient houses within the parish entitled to commoning, that the then Lord and Duke of Manchester and his wife, Lady Carlisle, should fence off two portions of fifty acres each for their absolute use ; and that the remaining 475 acres should be vested in trustees, who were then and there named, for the benefit of the owners and occupiers of the 101 ancient houses then extant in the parish of Nazing, and sanctioned by Act of Parliament. Tradition speaks of this as the spot upon which, A.D. 61, Queen Boadicea, after the death of her husband Aristargus, the King of the Iceni, and the ill-usage of herself and her two daughters by the Romans under Cassius, in the reign of Nero, to whom he had bequeathed one half of his territories, first roused the Iceni, and gave battle to their oppressors, who retreated without much bloodshed. Hence the name of Nazinge, or Nazing, or 'Na-sang,' is supposed to be derived. The Romans were then driven through Hertfordshire to Verulam, now St. Albans, and to Augusten, now London, and from thence down into the vicinity of Maldon, in Essex, by Queen Boadicea and her army, where they received a reinforcement of 10,000 veteran Roman soldiers under Suetonius, from the Isle of Man, and eventually defeated Queen Boadicea's army of 250,000, with the slaughter of 80,000 men, women, and children. Hence that place was called Messing (from *messus*, much, and *sang*, blood).



Queen Boadicea retreating again to her old encampment, Ambresbury Banks, in Epping or Waltham Forest, and taking poison in preference to falling into the hands of her enemy, the Romans. An obelisk still remains near Cobbin Brook, reported to mark the spot upon which the unfortunate, but noble Queen died. Nazing and all the surrounding country at that time forming a part of Waltham, or the Great Forest of Essex.

In the reign of Henry the Third (1216) license was granted to the Abbot of Waltham to impark the woods of Nazing and Epping, and in the tenth year of that reign (1226) there was an exchange between the Abbot of Waltham and the Crown, by which it was settled that the woods of Nazing and Epping should be without the forest. So in the thirteenth of Henry the Third (1229), license was granted to enclose and impark Nazing Wood Common, and in the fourteenth of Edward the Third (1341), to enclose it with a deep ditch and high fence—so that the king's deer might not trespass upon it. Thus, the common, anciently the great woods of Nazing, became extra forestal, and acquired the name of Nazing Park. Subsequently, by an indenture dated 22nd July, 1651, the Earl of Carlisle and his wife conveyed to trustees (previously reserving to himself and heirs one hundred acres in two allotments of fifty acres each) the remainder of Nazing Wood Common, which was assigned for ever by above indenture to trustees for the owners of certain ancient houses then in the parish, viz., 101. On the 9th of June, 1657, a private Act was passed by the Protectorate Government for the confirmation of this, and the improvement lately made by the Earl of Carlisle in certain lands of Nazing, and settling the same upon him, and his tenants respectively, these two allotments of fifty acres, which was, with other private Acts of the Commonwealth, confirmed on the restoration of His Majesty Charles the Second, in 1660. In 1778 an Act of Parliament was obtained by Mr. William Palmer to regulate the management of stocking, etc., of Nazing Common by five trustees, to be chosen annually on the 24th of June. It is recorded by Arthur Young, in his 'Agricultural Survey of Essex' (published in 1807), 'that, the people of Nazing were a sad, lawless set, when Mr. William Palmer, of Nazing, first took them in hand in 1773. But that, at that time (1807), there was not a more loyal or better set in the county—the result of his precept and example as a large resident proprietor in their immediate neighbourhood. They became a steady, sober,



industrious class of people, and most particularly from the encouragement and assistance which he afforded the poor cottagers to enable them to enjoy their common rights over Nazing Wood Common, imparked in 1229, in thirteenth of Henry the Third, and taken out of the regard of Waltham or Epping Forest with authority, and to enclose it with a deep ditch and fence (in 1341) by Act of Parliament, thereby seeking to inspire the hitherto heedless and improvident labourer with the energy and frugality of the British merchant, supplying those with funds to purchase stock who were without money, which they repaid in due course from the produce of that stock—in every instance save one.

There were 101 common rights attached to the ancient houses in the parish at the time of its disafforestation, and each occupier of these houses was entitled by an Act of Parliament, passed in 1778, for regulating the stocking and management of the remaining portion of the 475 acres by the commoners—one hundred acres having been taken, by agreement with the commoners, by Lord Carlisle, the lord of Nazing and Harold's Park manors, in arrangement with the parishioners or commoners for indenture of 22nd July, 1651, which was confirmed by an Act of the Protectorate Parliament, passed on the 9th of June, 1657, and subsequently confirmed by Charles the Second. Each common right under the Act of 1778 entitled the occupier of an ancient house to turn out ten sheep and two head of great cattle (horses or cows) for ten months of the year. The system adopted in the regulation and management of Nazing Wood Common is also recorded fully in the 'Percy Anecdotes,' and the advantages derived by the poorer inhabitants of Nazing. No person can avail himself or themselves of these common rights unless they reside or draw smoke within the parish.

#### NAZING CHURCH.

The Parish church in which the Pilgrim Fathers and their ancestors worshipped is dedicated to All Saints, and is a spacious structure built of stone, brick, and flint, and consists of a chancel, nave, and north aisle. At the west end there is a square tower embattled, containing five bells. The body of the church is divided from the aisle by four pointed arches rising on circular clustered columns, behind the first, which is

apparently hollow, is a small door leading by narrow winding stairs to an aperture in front of the chancel, sufficiently large enough to exhibit a person nearly at full length to the congregation; this was probably the entrance to the rood loft. At no very remote period it was used for purposes of general thanksgiving, as appears from a wooden tablet beneath the aperture with the following inscription upon it, Psalm cxvi. 18: "I will pay my vows unto the Lord now in the sight of all His people." On the west wall of the church was formerly an inscription, placed there probably when the church was repaired, "Robert Keyse, William Camp, 1638." On the exterior of the chancel end of the south wall is a small round sun-dial with an inscription nearly obliterated; the date is rather more plain, 1630. A square dial on the south buttress of the ower is of later date, 1765, "*Meridies Solarius*, lat. 51<sup>d</sup>. 32<sup>m</sup>." In the belfry is an ancient oak chest curiously bound with iron straps, in which were probably kept the churchwardens' books. Before the restoration of the church in 1873, the seats presented a curious appearance, and just about as they did when a few of the Pilgrim Fathers sat and listened to the preaching of Richard Ferrian and Edward Jude, A.M. These seats were of oak, and carved at the ends with a variety of grotesque characters. A few of the best of these seats are now fixed in the aisle of the church. Prior to the recent restoration the interior of the church was in a most neglected and miserable condition, the floor of the middle aisle was paved with red bricks. The inside of the south porch remains about as it did; it is paved with red tiles edgewise, and portions of two very ancient coffin-shaped grave-stones. There are several monumental inscriptions in the church to the memory of the Palmers of Nazing, an old resident family of some position in the days of the Charles's. Descendants of the same family are occupants of a fine old mansion beautifully situated near the church and within the park.

Nazing church was appropriated by King Harold to his newly founded church at Waltham, *circa* 1060. After the

ejection of the secular priests in 1177, from Waltham church, Henry I. placed an abbot and regular canons in their stead, of the order of St. Augustine, by a charter dated at Winchester, wherein Nazing is described as land allotted to purchase clothing for the said canons of Waltham. This charter was confirmed by Richard I. 1189. Nazing church was first supplied by the canons of Waltham, or persons appointed by them. The vicarage occurs among the small benefices in the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., *circa* 1291, and valued at thirty-shillings. In 1275 (3 Edward I.), the canons of Waltham purchased fifty acres of land in Nazing, which belonged to Walter de Taney, and in 1297 the king empowered John Levenoth to give eighty acres of land in Nazing to the Abbey of Waltham, which land was held of the Abbey by the service of one-half a knight's fee. The jurors state that an exchange was made between the abbot and convent of Waltham and Roger Levenoth of one messuage and one hundred acres of land in Nazing and its adjoining parish—Roydon. Between these two parishes stands a fine old ruin, well known to the Pilgrim Fathers, called Nether Hall, and situate near the confluence of the rivers Lea and Stort, and a short distance from the Old Rye House.\* This hall was held by the Abbey of Waltham, and in 1401 was conveyed to Thomas Organ, of London, who sold it to Nicholas Collern. After him it was released in 1407 to Simon Barnwell. In the reign of Edward IV. the hall became the property of the Colte family, and remained in their possession till 1635, when the Archers of Coopersale Theydon Bois possessed it. Mr. Parish occupies the estate now. In 1871 the Essex and St. Albans Archaeological Societies paid a formal visit to the place, also to the Old Rye House.†

\* See "Rye House Plot" (folio) by Dr. Spratt, Bishop Rochester, 1685. Some have stated that the Ruggles, of Nazing, were concerned in the "horrid conspiracy" (?)

† A wealthy brewer, named John Nazing (no doubt a native of Nazing), by his will, dated 35 Edward III., requested his body to be buried in the church of St. Mary-at-Hill, London, then under the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Waltham. He bequeathed several tenements and shops in the



The abbot and convent of Waltham remained patrons of the vicarage of Nazing till the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII., which monarch granted in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, the rectory and tithes of Nazing, with the manor to Sir Ralph Sadler. In 1 Edward VI. Sir Ralph had a licence granting him liberty to alien it to Sir Anthony Denny, after which there was a further grant of it to Lady Joan Denny, 7 Edward VI. to be held *in capite*. The advowson of the vicarage remained in the Crown. In 1650 the Commissioners appointed to examine into the ecclesiastical benefices describe Nazing vicarage as impropriate to the Earl of Carlisle (the Hon. James Hay). The parsonage house and glebe lands, valued then at £30 *per annum*, and the customary profits at £20 *per annum*. The vicarage was augmented by the benefactions of the Rev. Stephen Hales and Mrs. Palmer, jointly with Queen Anne's bounty. Clear value yearly in the King's books, £43 10s. The patron is the Lord Chancellor. At the dissolution of Waltham Abbey, the Manor of Nazing, with the rectory and tithes, were let at £31 18s., and rents at Nazing £33 8s. 3½*d.* The net annual value is now £255. Newcourt mentions a vicarage house in 1610 with a garden, barn, stables, and five pieces of ground "lying together by the vicarage house, in all seventeen acres, on one side of them a spring, containing about a rood; one other close of five acres called Sale Field, and another called Broad Field, of three acres. Three parcels of meadow-land in the common mead; two about five roods apiece; the third about one acre, and seven cow pastures in Nazing Mead." The present vicarage is a modern building. A portion of the old moat still remains which we presume surrounded the ancient vicarage house. Sir Herewald Wake is Lord of the Manor.

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parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, to the priest there, the annual value of the property was £9 3s. 4*d.* The Abbots of Waltham had a quit rent of 22s. out of these rents, from the year 1493, until the dissolution of monasteries, *temp.* Henry VIII. John Nazing founded a Chantry at St. Mary-at-Hill, and bequeathed all his lands to the said church, amounting to £12 3s. 4*d.* per annum. *Vide* "Londinium Redivium," vol. iv. p. 416.



## KING HAROLD'S PARK.

Just before entering Nazing common on the right is "Harold's Park," so called from its having been the gift of King Harold to his canons at Waltham. On the top of the hill is an ancient farmhouse, and leading to it is a fine row of elm trees on each side of the road forming a pretty avenue. The Abbot, Richard of Waltham, enclosed the park by licence of Henry III., *circa* 1225. On June 25, 1547, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, had leave granted to alienate to him Harold's Park. And the same estate was held by Sir Anthony Denny, *temp.* Henry VIII. In Elizabeth's reign Sir Edward Greville, Lord Brook, resided here. He married the widow of Henry Denny, son of Sir Anthony. In Waltham Church is an effigy of Lady Greville in white marble. The inscription and part of her tomb has long been destroyed. Sir Francis Swift, the great Royalist, also resided here. Ogbourn says that the estate was held by the Denny family up to the year 1692. Harold's Park was tenanted by Thomas Burgh, whose name is appended to a brief in the Parish Register of Nazing, under date 1689, when John Turner, M.A., read himself in as incumbent of the church. The estate of Harold's Park was conveyed to the trustees of Matthew Kenrick\* in 1717. His devisees and heirs-at-law conveyed the estate to Sir James Bateman, Bart., who devised the same to his son Richard Bateman, Esq., who in 1758 sold it to Joseph Bird. Mr. Smith held the estate after the Bird family, and after him it was held by Mr. Thomas Rippin.†

## THE PARISH REGISTERS OF NAZING.

The Parish Registers of Nazing are well kept, and are now the most reliable documents to which we can refer with safety for information relative to the Pilgrim Fathers of that locality.

\* Matthew Kenrick, of Harold's Park and Turkey, merchant of London, died March 21, 1712, aged 58 years, and lies buried at Havering.

† Several early coins have been found in the foundation of the old house at Harold's Park.

As before stated, the Registers commence in 1559. On the fly-leaf of the first volume are written the following words :—

“O Lord increase or. ffaith, *Deus Augeat ffidem nostram infr.* Nicholas Grave, Olem Mead, John Mead.”\*

There are also a few notes of interest scattered here and there in the earlier Registers. which are worthy of notice, namely—

“Mr. Dyer was buried the 8th of August.—Mr. a Dyer, above named, gave by his will xls. to the poore of Nazing, wh. was distributed by minister and churchwardens, August 15, 1602, per me, Richard fferian, minister, *ibidem* 1602. George Dowsett, Thomas Beck, churchwardens.”

A note is given relative to David Leigh, incumbent, who succeeded John Harper in 1648 :—

“David Leigh, clerke, being chosen parish Register by the inhabitants and householders of the parish of Nazing, was sworne, approved by me, Hen. Wollaston.”

A contract of marriage between Robert Gibb, of ye parish of Nazing, on the one part, taylor, and Letice Campe, of the parish of Epping, on the other part, spinster, being published three several Lord's days in ye respective parishes, as by certificate did appear, and were married by mee, Hen. Wollaston, David Leigh, clerk. Approved by me, Henry Wollaston, 1648—1654. Henry Wollaston was Justice of the Peace, and resided at Waltham Abbey.

The following “briefs” are entered in the Registers :—

“Gathered in the Pish. of Nazing, by vertue of the warrent directed to the churchwardens, and paid the high constable the 10th day of January, towards the repacion [restoration] of St. Paull church, London, the some of seven shillings and threepence, gathered by John Dean, *anno* 1634.

“Collected in ye parish of Nazing, towards ye relief of the inhabitants of Bride's parish, London, who suffered in the losse by ffire,

\* Dr. Worthington, in his Life of Joseph Mede, B.D., states that, after the death of the father of Joseph Mede, his mother married a Mr. Gower of Nazing, *circa* 1596-7.

the summe of thirteene shillings and a penny, gathered on the 24th April, 1659, by George Campe, Ambrose Chandler, churchwardens.

“Collected in pish. of Nazing towards the relief of the inhabitants of ffakenham, in the county of Norfolke, who suffered by losse of fire, the sume of sixteen shillings, gathered by William Kimpton, 1660.

“Collected in pish. of Nazing, towards the relief of Hannah Ansell, of Lowdwater, in the parish of Rickmansworth, who suffered by ffire, the sum of eleven shillings and seven pence, gathered by George Curtis, William Kimpton, churchwardens, 1660.

“Gathered in the pish. of Nazing, to the relief of the inhabitants of Milton Abbas, in the county of Dorsett, who suffered in the losse by ffire, the summe of twelve shillings and sixpence, feb. 10, 1660, gathered by George Curtis, William Kimpton, churchwardens.

“Brief.—Gathered from house to house toward the relief of Bongay, in Suffolke, ye sum of 4s. by us, J. Turner, vic. Toward the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, the full sum of £3, which mony was gathered 5th or 6th Sept. 1689.

“Gathered in the parish church of Nazing toward the relief of Philip Danduto, by nation a Turk, the sum of 4s.

“August 26, 1694. Thus received, Joseph Brett and Thomas Pegrum, of the parish of Nazing, toward ye french Protestants Breefe, ye sum of 5s. 4d., with the names of these y. gave. Registered also in ye presence of us, John Turner, vic.; Joseph Brett, churchwarden.

“These are to certify whom it may concern yt John Turner Master of Arts and Vicar of ye Pish. Church of Nazing, in ye county of Essex, did on ye 7th day of July, 1689, read ye thirty and nine Articles of ye Church of England, after ye Divine Service was ended, and did then also declare his assent and consent to ye same in ye presence of ye churchwardens and other of ye said pish. Witness, Thomas Burgh, *Jun.*”

The churchwardens of Nazing from 1634 to 1640 were as follows:—1634, John Deane and George Barkmaker. 1635, John Alvary and Thomas Wilkinson. 1636, Thomas Huchins and John Algar. 1637, John Algar and Thomas Scott. 1640, John Payson and Hugh Hornalle.

## VICARS OF NAZING.

A list of the vicars of Nazing—Patron, Abbot of Waltham, *William the Clerk*, of Nazing. He is one of the witnesses to a charter or grant of land in Amwell, co. Herts, to the canons of Waltham; *temp.*, Hen. II.\* *John Galion*, 1371. *William Lekeman*, April 6, per resignation of Galion. Lekeman was vicar of Margetting, co. Essex, on the resignation of Walter Hachman, Oct. 5, 1363; Lekeman resigned that living in 1366. *John Mathew*. He had been rector of Bursteam Parva on the resignation of Thomas Lowe, March 7, 1390, which living Mathew resigned, for Nazing.† *John Randolph* cap. July 16, 1405, per resignation of Mathew.‡ *John Westmore*. *John Hedon*, per Nov. 20, 1457, per resignation of Westmore. *Thomas Dikson*, per August 1, 1459, per resignation of Hedon. *William Lax*, Dec. 10, 1467, per resignation of Dikson. W. Lax was of Fulham, co. Middlesex. *Thomas Bell*, cap. April 20, 1469, per resignation of Lax. *Henry Middleton*, A.M., 30 . . . . . 1475, per mort Bell. *William Wilton*. The vicarage was then under royal patronage. *William Holmes*, per Sept. 28, 1513, per mort Wilton. *Nicholas Lock*, cl. penult. Feb., 1541, per mort Holmes. When Mary came to the throne, Lock was deprived. It is thought that he was a married man, and would not put away his wife. The date of his institution would indicate that he was a Protestant, and for which he suffered. He was rector of Uggeshall and Harkestead in 1561,§ and in 1563 his name occurs in the list of officials to the Archdeacon of Suffolk. *Thomas Brooke*, per May 12, 1554, per deprivation of Lock. *Christopher Wall*, per Sept. 17, 1556, per resignation of Brooke. *Edward Hopkinson*, cl. April 25, 1559, per mort Wall. *John Hopkins*, cl. Feb. 3, 1570, per mort, Hopkinson. *Edward Baker*, A.M., Feb. 13, 1589, per deprivation of Hopkins.

\* Harl. MSS., 391.

† Hunter MSS., relating to Charter of Cheshunt and Waltham.

‡ Newcourt says that a John Randolph, rector of Buers Gifford, co. Essex, died 1392.

§ Bloomfield's Norfolk, vol. iii.



E. Baker resigned, and removed to Waltham Abbey, where he died in 1604. *Richard Ferian, M.A.*, inducted Feb. 25, 1592. *Richard Sherman, A.M.*, August 5, 1606, per resignation of Ferian. *Edward Jude, A.M.*, Oct. 13, 1608, per resignation of Sherman. E. Jude resigned his living at Nazing for that of Hunsdon, not far distant, where he died, in 1644, and was succeeded by Philip Eliot, M.A. E. Jude must have been at Nazing many years. *Lionel Goodrick* may have officiated at Nazing, as his name occurs several times in the Nazing Registers from 1631 to 1638. *Henry Back* also officiated, in 1620. Nothing more occurs about Back, but Goodrick was incumbent of Waltham in 1672. The history of Edward Jude, as regards his labours at Nazing, is valuable, as he appears to have been the minister during the time many of the Pilgrim Fathers resided at Nazing. The Registers of Nazing record the baptism of two sons of Jude, viz. Edward Jude, baptized March 10, 1610; John Jude, baptized June 29, 1614. *Robert Lewis, A.M.*, entered as vicar of Nazing on the resignation of Edward Jude, Feb. 25, 1640, at which period *Feremy Dyke* officiated. *John Harper*, in 1648, signed the "Essex Testimony," as vicar of Nazing, and late in the same year he left for Epping. In 1650 he is returned, by order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, "an able, godly preaching minister."\* After his ejection, in 1660, he conformed, and was collated to the prebend of Hoxton, in St. Paul's. *David Leigh* (or Leech), 1648, per resignation of Harper. D. Leigh was buried at Waltham, August 29, 1658. *Henry Albery* was inducted into the living, 1650. His name occurs in the Lansd. MSS. 459.—"The vic. is sequestered, and the sequester provide at present Hen: Albery, and allow o 10 o every Sabbath day"† *Joseph Browne*, inducted Sept. 1, 1658, ejected in 1662. Joseph Browne was a great sufferer while at Nazing, owing to the Act of Uniformity and other equally tyrannical Acts. Dr. Calamy informs us that Browne was of Emmanuel College, Oxford. He was a native of Ware, co,

\* Lansd. MSS., 459.

† "Possession of Earl of Carlisle, Vicaridge, £50 os. od." Lansd. MSS.

Herts, and was born about the time the *Mayflower* started with the first batch of Pilgrims. He was ordained *circa* 1649. In 1662, having then been at Nazing four years, he was numbered with the ever memorable 2,000, who could not give their assent to everything in the "Book of Common Prayer." At this period, having been ousted from his living he undertook to teach a school at Nazing, but, owing to the *Five Mile Act*, he was forced to leave the place. After a lapse of time he returned to his much loved friends at Nazing, when he met with a great deal of trouble from Justice Wroth, of the Wroths of Durance Enfield, and friends of Dr. Thomas Fuller. Wroth made a seize upon his goods, which Browne "suffered joyfully." The Christian spirit which Browne manifested at this time of trial was a great annoyance to Wroth, who soon afterwards signed a warrant for seizing his person and the rest of his goods; and, lest the knowledge of Wroth's design should be made known, he managed the affair with such secrecy that he only spoke of it the over night to some of his servants, who were to execute the sad business the next morning. A poor gardener in the employ of Justice Wroth overheard the orders given, which gave him so much trouble that he could not sleep. He, consequently, got up in the dead of the night and went to Mr. Browne, and informed him of what was likely to take place, and then stole back to his bed without being discovered. Mr. Browne made the best use of his time and employed a conveyance at once, and removed all his effects out of reach and, lo! in the morning, his enemies were too late for the spoil, and of course much surprised and enraged. A month later he appointed a day to meet his family, which he had left at Nazing, when it was supposed that some one had discovered his intentions, for he was waylaid in several places through which he was to pass; so that if he had gone that day he would have been taken. But providentially the weather proving unpropitious, and his mind misgiving him in the morning, he did not undertake the journey and so escaped. In the year 1683 he removed to London, and in

1690, soon after the Revolution, he returned to his beloved friends at Nazing, where he probably mingled with the Independents of that locality, and "brought forth fruit in old age." He continued to preach till he was near eighty years of age, and died about the year 1700.\* *George Hawdon* was inducted to the vicarage on Browne's ejection, Nov. 8, 1662. He was buried at Nazing, "in wollen only," Sept. 24, 1682. *Laurence Pocock* succeeded Hawdon, Oct. 25, 1682, and died at Nazing, 1687-8. *John Church, A.B.*, received the living, Jan. 16, 1688-9. *John Turner, A.M.*, June 8, 1689, and was succeeded on his death by *John Apperley*, 1698. Newcourt states, Nov. 20, 1701. *Lewis Desbordes*, Dec. 3, 1719, per mort, Apperley. *George Manley*, 1720-1, upon Desbordes' cess. *Michael Marlow, M.A.*, vicar of Nazing, from 1728-9 to 1752. He was educated at Brazen Nose College, Oxford. His son, named after himself, became M.A., 1784; B.D., 1789; D.D., and President of St. John's College, 1795; Vice-Chancellor, 1798, 1799, 1800, and 1801. *Thomas Salt, A.M.*, Nov. 11, 1761, when it is said Marlow resigned (Ogbourn, p. 228). *William Pye, curate*, 1769; *John Sharra, curate*, 1785; *William Shaw, curate*, 1791; *Robert Henry Auber, curate*, 1797; *John Moir, M.A.*, became vicar, May 24, 1806, on the death of Thomas Salt. *Thomas Kidd, curate*, 1812; *Thomas Arnold* became vicar in 1812, on the death of John Moir, who was buried in the chancel of Nazing church. *George Pellew, D.D.*, vicar of Nazing in 1819. He was the third son of Edward, first Viscount Exmouth, born 1793, graduated B.A., at C.C. Coll., Oxford, 1814; vicar of Nazing, 1819; Canon of Canterbury, 1823; Dean of Norwich, 1828; Rector of Great Chart, Kent, 1852, having previously been vicar of Sutton Galtries, Yorkshire; Rector of St. George the Martyr's, Canterbury, and St. Dionis Backechurch, London; also Prebendary of York. He was son-in-law to Lord Sidmouth. *Isaac Tomline* was curate of Nazing in 1820, and in 1821 was followed by *Charlton Lane*.†

\* "Noncon. Mem." vol. ii. p. 209.

† Who afterwards became Vicar of Hampstead, and died in 1875.



*Henry Fuedall, vicar, 1821 ; Charles Dyson, vicar, 1828 ; A Hubbard, curate, 1833 ; Edward Hood, vicar, 1836 ; Rowland Smith, vicar, 1865 ; Henry M. Tyrwhitt, M.A., 1872.*

#### THE ELIOT FAMILY.

*John Eliot*, known as "the Apostle to the Indians," was born, probably at Nazing, *circa* November, 1604.\* His father, Bennett Eliot, of Nazing, was a man of some substance as a landholder in Nazing, Hunsdon, Ware, Eastwick, Widford, and the surrounding parishes, and which accounts for his being able to give his beloved son John a collegiate education, as his will declares, bearing date Nov. 5, 1621, viz.—

"I give and bequeath all the rents and profits of all my copy and customary lands, tenements, &c., beinge in the sev'all p'ishes of Ware, Widford, Hunsdon, and Estweeke, in the county of Hartford, unto my trusty and well-beloved friends, William Curtis, my son-in-law ; Nicholas Camp, the younger ; and John Keyes, all of the sayde parishe of Nazinge, for the space of eight yearss, from the time of my decease, quarterly to pay unto my sonne, John Elliott, the some of eight pounds a yeare of lawfull money of England, for and towards the maintenance in the univ'sity of Cambridge, where he is a scholler."

John Eliot matriculated as a pensioner in Jesus College, Cambridge, March 20, 1619, and took his B.A. in 1623. On leaving College he went to reside with the celebrated Thomas Hooker, who at that time kept school at Little Baddow, near Chelmsford, co. Essex. This was a memorable time in the religious experience of Eliot, who in after years wrote :—

"To this place was I called through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul, for here the Lord said unto my dead soul, live, live ! and, through the grace of God, I do live for ever ! When I came to this blessed family I then saw as never before the power of godliness in its lovely vigour and efficacy."

\* Though his father resided at Nazing, his baptism does not occur in the Parish Register.



And which great change fitted him, with the learning he possessed, for the evangelical mission, which God had in His providence allotted for him, and which is so ably and largely recorded by Cotton Mather, Jared Sparks, Nehemiah Adams, and a number of later American authors.\*

*Bennett Eliot*, father of the "Apostle" John, made his will, bearing date Nov. 5, 1621, which was proved March 28, 1628. He was buried at Nazing, Nov. 21, 1621. With regard to his daughter, the wife of William Curtis, there appears to be a clerical error in the will, as she is there called *Mary* instead of Sarah. There is no mention made in the will of the wife of Bennett Eliot, probably she predeceased him, and she may have been the "Lettes Ellyot," buried at Nazing, March 16, 1620-1. If so, she died after giving birth to her youngest child, Mary. John, the "Apostle to the Indians," appears to be the fifth child of Bennett Eliot, the fourth son, and the second of that name—that is, provided the John Eliot, baptized at Nazing, Feb. 6, 1602-3, and buried the 18th of the same month, was son of the said Bennett. The family of Bennett Eliot may be arranged as follows:—

1. Philip, is said to have married *circa* 1621. No entry occurs in the Nazing Registers to that effect.
  2. Sarah, born *circa* 1600; married William Curtis, August, 1618, at Nazing.
  3. Jacob, married Margery. . . . . (She died in 1662, worth £294 19s. 8d.)
  4. John, baptized Feb. 6, 1602—3 (buried "infans," 18th of same month).
  5. John, born *circa* Nov. 1604; married Ann Mountford, Oct. 1632.
  6. Lydia, baptized at Nazing, July 1, 1610.
  7. Francis       "       "       April 10, 1615; went to N.E.
  8. Mary         "       "       March 11, 1620-1.
- John Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians," was the first of

\* In the Cambridge University "Library Catalogue," vol. v. p. 530, is the annexed item, "12 Notices of John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians."

the Nazing Pilgrims who ventured to emigrate to America in the cause of truth and religious freedom. Young William Curtis, a "hopeful scholar," joined him company, as did also Governor Winthrop, who lost his little daughter Ann, about a year and a half old soon after they set sail. There were, says Winthrop, "about sixty persons who arrived in good health, having been ten weeks at sea." The ship which carried them safely across the Atlantic, was *The Lyon*, William Pierce, master; it arrived at Natascot on November 2, 1631, and the following day it anchored before Boston. John Eliot married in October, 1632, to Ann Mumford, or Mountford, who was betrothed to him in England. They had issue, Hannah, born September 17, 1633; John, born August, 1636; Joseph, born December 20, 1638; Samuel, born June 22, 1641; Aaron, born February 19, 1644, died November 19, 1655; and Benjamin, born January 29, 1647. The eldest daughter was living when Cotton Mather wrote the life of her father, and the youngest son was a preacher, and assisted his father many years, and died October 15, 1687. Four of Eliot's sons received a college education. It is said that John Eliot lived "nearly opposite Thomas Dudley's, on the other side of the Brook, just back of the spot where Guild Hall stands." He died May 20, 1690, in his eighty-sixth year, and was buried in "the ministers' tomb," which was built partly by subscription.\* One of the great literary works of John Eliot is his translation of the New Testament into the Indian language, published in 1661; 2nd Ed. 1680; and in 1663 appeared a translation of the whole Bible in 4to. bearing the following title:—"Mamusse Wunneetupamatamwe Up-Biblum God naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament." A new edition was published in 1685, revised by Dr. Cotton.

*Philip Eliot* appears to be the eldest son of Bennett Eliot. He married in England, *circa* 1621, to Elizabeth. . . . and sailed in the *Hopewell*, on April 3, 1635—William Bundick, captain. Philip Eliot's name is not on the custom-

\* "History of Roxbury Town," by C. M. Ellis, p. 117.

house list, but it is evident he is one of the passengers of that ship. The list contains, with many others, his wife's name and age, Eliz. Eliot, aged 30, as also those of his children—Mary, 13; Elizabeth, 8; Sarah, 6; and Philip. Several other Nazing friends were in company with them, viz.—Jo. Ruggles, aged 10; Jo. Ruggles, his father, shoemaker, aged 44; and Barbarie, his wife, aged 30; Jo. Ruggles, aged 2; Giles Payson, aged 26; William Peacock, aged 12; also Robert Day, aged 30. It is not certain that the last named came from Nazing, although several of that name resided there at that time, and John Dey or Day is mentioned in the will of Bennett Eliot. These were per certificate from Stanstead, a short distance from Nazing. The wife of Philip may have been the daughter of Richard Ferian, vicar of Nazing, at the time, as she is the only "Elizabeth" baptized in 1605. The baptism of Mary does not occur in the Parish Register. Elizabeth, the second daughter of Philip and Elizabeth Eliot, was baptized at Nazing, April 8, 1627; Sarah, baptized January 25, 1628-9. Ledde or Lydia Eliot (daughter of Philip) baptized June 12, 1631. Philip, the youngest child, does not appear to have been registered at Nazing (born 1633). Lydia Eliot is not mentioned by Savage, she appears on the list of passengers in the *Hopewell*, 1635, aged 4. She was baptized at Nazing, June 12, 1631. The church records of Roxbury say that the John Ruggles, aged 10, was servant to Philip Eliot, who was made freeman, May 26, 1636; and deacon of his brother John's Church at Roxbury. He died October 22, 1657. In the following year his property was appraised at £810 1s. 10d. He lived on the west of Stoney River. His property after the death of his widow Elizabeth, was divided between Richard Withington, who married Elizabeth Eliot; John Aldis, who married Sarah Eliot; and John Smith, in right of their wives.

*Sarah Eliot*, daughter of Bennett, married William Curtis, of Nazing, August 16, 1618.

*Jacob Eliot*, second son of Bennett, married Margery.  
 . . . . It is supposed that Jacob accompanied his brother



John to America in the ship *Lion*, as he was made freeman, March 6, 1632, ordained deacon May 17, 1640. He died 1651, leaving Margery, who died October 30, 1661, at which time she was possessed of £294 19s. 8d. His children, says Savage, were Jacob, baptized December 16, 1632; John, baptized December 28, 1634, died young; Hannah, baptized January 29, 1637; Abigail, baptized April 7, 1639; Susannah, born July 16, 1641; Mehitabel, born April 25, 1645; Sarah; Asaph, born October 25, 1651. An inventory (dated 1661) of the property of Jacob Eliot, *sen.*, speaks of him as "formerly deceased," and also names "Jacob Eliot, *jun.*," and "Francis Eliot."

*Lydia Eliot*, daughter of Bennett, baptized at Nazing, July 1, 1610. She was living in 1621, and is mentioned in her father's will.

*Francis Eliot*, youngest son of Bennett, was baptized at Nazing, April 10, 1615. It does not appear at what time he emigrated to New England. His wife Mary, the daughter of Martin Saunders of London, arrived at New England early in 1635. They had issue, Mary, Rachel, John, Hannah, Mary (the first born of that name died young), and Abigail. Francis Eliot was made deacon, October 12, 1652, and died late in 1677. His will bears date October 30, 1677.

#### ELIOT FAMILY,

From the Registers of Nazing and the adjoining Parishes.

#### NAZING, CO. ESSEX.

John Eliot, baptized Feb. 6, 1602-3; Lidia Eliot, baptized July 1, 1610; Frances Eleot, baptized April 10, 1615; Marrey Eleot, baptized March 11, 1620-1; Elizabeth Eliot, daughter of Philip Eliot, baptized April 8, 1626-7; Sarah Eliot, baptized January 25, 1628-9; Lede Eliot, daughter of Philip, baptized June 12, 1631; Sarah Eliot and William Curtis, married, August 6, 1618; Lettes Ellyot, buried March 16, 1620-1; Benit Elyot, buried November 21, 1621; Thomas Eliott, sonn of John and Mary Eliot, baptized September 25, 1661. A sonn of John Eliot buried unbaptized July 19, 1668.



## WALTHAM ABBEY (OR HOLY CROSS).

Margaret Elyat, the dowty of John Elyat, baptized July 3, 1564; buried July 5, 1573; John Cramphorne and Jone Elyote, married May 19, 1575; ffrancis Eliot, the son of John Eliot, buried April 28, 1581; Martha Eliot, daughter of John, baptized April 2, 1585; Eliz. Elyat, daughter of John, baptized July 14, 1588; Margaret Ellyet, the wyfe of John, buried January 11, 1589-90; John Ellet, yeoman, was buryed June 2, 1590; Roger Elyot and Catharyne Campe, married January 13, 1591-2; Roger Eliot, buried April 4, 1608; Hewgh Eliot was buried June 4, 1613; ffferdinando Elliot and the widdow Lee, married May 13, 1619; ye widow Elyet, of Sureston,\* buried August 26, 1629; John Eliot and Marie Saltmarsh,† married September 3, 1655; Margret, daughter John and Margret Eliot, born December 13, 1655; George Eliot and Margret Fuller, married March 13, 1655-6; Ann, daughter Nicholas and Ann Eliot, born November 17, 1660; buried December 13 following; John Sawdrey and Ann Eliot, married December 28, 1663; daughter of John Eliot, buried July 8, 1666; Thomas, son of Thomas and Rebekah Eliot, baptized February 26, 1667-8; Mathew Dawson and Ellin Eliot, married June 14, 1682; Margret Ellet, nursed at Rigdon's, buried September 3, 1702. In the Churchwardens' accounts of Waltham, 1643-4 is the annexed entry given, Jo. Ellit and Tho. Ellit, plundered men—8d.

## CHESHUNT.‡

Edward Eliot and Emma Sympson, married April 21, 1567; Geo. Eliot, son of Edward, baptized August 28, 1569; John Eliot and Alice Jackson, married January 25, 1572-3; Dorothy Eliott, daughter of John, baptized November 21, 1574.

\* Sewardstone, a hamlet in the parish of Waltham Abbey.

† Married by H. Wollaston, Justice of the Peace.

‡ Adjoining Waltham Abbey, and in co. Herts.

## HUNSDON, CO. HERTS.\*

*Baptisms.*—Alice Ellyot, September 15, 1549; Geffrey Ellyot, October 25, 1549; Robert Ellyot, October 3, 1551; Phillippe Elliot, September 20, 1551; Allis Ellyot, December 1, 1554; Margery Ellyot, March 17, 1554; John Ellyot, November 15, 1557; Fordinando Ellyot, sonne of John Ellyot, December 8, 1560; Henry, son of John Ellyot, October 18 1563; Robert, son of Robert Ellyot, August 24, 1568; Robert, son of Robert Elliot, February 26, 1570; Mathewe, son of Robert Ellyot, August 2, 1572; Margaret Ellyot daughter of George, January 6, 1576; Margaret Ellyot, daughter of John, September 8, 1577; Phillippe Elliot, baptized December 20, 1579; Elizabeth Elliot, baptized March 5, 1580; John Ellyot, sonne of Phillippe, baptized August 28, 1581; Steven Ellyot, baptized December 28, 1581; Anne Ellyot, baptized February 25, 1582; Lydia Ellyot and Effa Eliot, twynnes sisters, baptized March 1, 1582-3; Agnes Ellyot, baptized August 31, 1584; James, sonne of Phillippe Ellyot, baptized December 28, 1584; Geo., sonne of George Ellyot, baptized November 7, 1585; Daniel, sonne of Phillippe Ellyot, baptized February 19, 1586-7; Margaret, daughter of George Ellyot, baptized June 4, 1587; Hester daughter of Phillippe Ellyot, baptized September 1, 1588; Susan, daughter of George Ellyot, baptized January 25, 1589, Mary, daughter of Phillippe Ellyot, baptized January 18 1590; Eliz., daughter of George Ellyot, baptized July 1, 1593; Annas, daughter of George Elliot, of Blackcroft,† baptized July 14, 1594; Judithe, daughter of Edward Eliot, baptized February 10, 1604; Ann, a base child, begotten by Bell Eliot, &c., &c., baptized May 26, 1605; Judithe, daughter of James Eliot, minister and p'cher of God's word,

\* For the above extracts I am obliged to the Rev. Spencer Nairne M.A., vicar of Hunsdon. It will be observed in the will of Bennett Eliot that he held land in this parish.

† An ancient mansion in Hunsdon, and a field, once an orchard, is now called "Blackcroft."

was baptized December 18, 1607 ; Katherine Eliot, daughter of Daniel Eliot, baptized April 10, 1611 ; Martha, daughter of Edward Eliot, baptized November 15, 1612 ; George, son of George Eliot, baptized September 20, 1619 ; Robert, son of George Elyote, baptized February 22, 1621 ; John, son of Edward Eliot, baptized July 4, 1627 ; ffances Elyott, daughter of Philip Elyote and ffances, his wife, borne June 8, baptized June 10, 1655 ; Mary, daughter of John Elyote, baptized January 7, 1655 ; Edward Elyott, son of ———, baptized March 15, 1657.

*Marriages.*—John Jacob and Johan Ellyot, September 4, 1554 ; Robert Ellyot and Johan Houghton, October 19, 1567 ; Phillippe Ellyot and Katheryne Wood, November 28, 1580 ; Andrew Foster and Margery Elliot, of Olyves,\* May 17, 1584 ; John Miller and Katherine Elliot, February 7, 1593 ; Rich. Eliot and Grace Walker, widdow, November 30, 1607 ; Reinold Eliot and Mary Camp, June 20, 1627 ; Reyonlde Eliot and Joane Jonson, October 19, 1628 ; John Ellyott, sonne of Edwarde Ellyot, and Mary Laurence, December 21, 1653.

*Burials.*—Robert Elliot, March 10, 1551 ; John Ellyot, December 28, 1558 ; Ellyn Elliot, June 19, 1560 ; Robert, son of Thomas Ellyot, August 16, 1561 ; John, son of John Elliot, January 25, 1565 ; Elizabeth, sometyme wyfe of Robert Elliot, May 11, 1568 ; Robert Ellyot, January 26, 1571 ; John, son of Thomas Elliot, February 21, 1578 ; William Elliotte, December 16, 1580 ; John, son of Phillippe Elliot, August 20, 1581 ; Bridget, weife of John Elliot, September 26, 1584 ; John Elliot, March 13, 1585 ; Thomas Elliot, May 13, 1588 ; John Ellyot, May 17, 1588 ; Phillippe Elliot, of Olyves, February 14, 1591 ; Elizabeth, weife of George Elliot, July 6, 1593 ; Annes Eliot, of Blackcrofte, November 24, 1594 ; Phillippe, son of George Elliot, of Blackcrofte, April 2, 1597 ; Stephen, son of George Elliot, October 22, 1598 ; Margaret, wiffe of Willm Eliot, November 15,

\* "Olives" is now a farm in Hunsdon.



1602; Marie, daughter of Willm Eliot, January 15, 1606; Elizabeth Eliot, mayden, August 5, 1613; George Eliot, of the George, so commonly called by the name of his house, September 30, 1613; George Eliot, of Blackcrofte, February 18, 1613; Elsabeth Eliot, of the George, a young mayd of 22 yeares, diing at Sabridgworth, was buried at Hunsdon, October 2, 1615; Grac Eliot, the wiffe of Richard Eliot, November 5, 1616; Tobias Eliot, June 4, 1620; Elizabeth, wife of George Elyott, February 25, 1621; Richard Elliott, March 14, 1632; Elsabeth Elliott, August 11, 1640; Mary Elliott, wife of George Ellyott, February 23, 1658; Edward Ellyott, March 4, 1658; Robt Ellyott, December 18, 1658; John Elliot, October 5, 1669. In the churchyard are several tombs to the memory of the Eliot family, viz.—“Here lyeth the Body of George Elliott, of this Parish, who departed this life the 23 of May, 1691, aged 72.” Another high stone tomb, upon which are inscribed the words, “Here lieth the body of Mrs. Rachael Chellingworth, one of the daughters of Mr. George Elliot, late of this parish, who departed this life the 14 day of April, 1732, aged 53 years. And also the body of Mrs. Catherine Taylor, widdow (one other of the daughters of the said George Elliot) who died this 23 day of January, 1732, aged 59 years.” Another of later date, “To the memory of Robert Elliot, Esq., late of the East India Company’s Service, who died Sept<sup>r</sup>. 7, 1844, aged 58 years.”

Phillip Elliot, M.A., became Rector of Hunsdon, July 20 1644, on the death of Edward Jude, who was Vicar of Nazing at the time when the Pilgrim Fathers left the village for New England. John Elyott, of Hunsdon, occurs in the List of Freeholders in the Hundred of Braughing, *circa* 1561 (see Lansd. MSS., 5, folio 49).

#### THE ELIOT FAMILY OF ROXWELL, CO. ESSEX.

*Baptisms*, — William Eliot, January 19, 1564–5; Henrie Eliot, April 7, 1568; Denis Elliott, November 22, 1571; Marie Elliott, April 8, 1572; Thomas Elliott, May 30, 1573; Anne Elliott, October 10, 1574; Jane Elliott, June 23, 1576; Joane



Elliot, Julie 28, 1577; Martha Eliot, Septembre 22, 1577; Edward Eliott, Julie 5, 1579; Martha Eliott, Febuarie 24, 1580-1; Anna Elliot, May 2, 1596; Elizabetha filia Eliot, March 30, 1600.

*Marriages.*—Mr. John Butler and Mrs. Jane Eliott, December 27, 1599.

*Burials.*—Bridget Eliott, Aprill 28, 1575; Martha Eliott, Febuarie 24, 1579-80; Edward Elliott, Esquire, December 29, 1595; Sarah, of George Elliott, October 19, 1630; Mary, of George Ellit, May 19, 1635; George Elliott, Aprill 19, 1638. Special reference is made to this branch of the Eliot family of Newland Hall, Roxwell, in the Harl. MSS., British Museum.\*

(1) Jane Elliot, of Roxwell, married John Butler, of Little Burch, co. Essex, (2) Dorothy Elliot (Harl. MSS.), (3) Elizabeth Eliot married John Yonge, of Roxwell (Harl. MSS.), (4) † Edward Elliot, bapt. at Roxwell, July 5, 1579.‡

\* This family resided at Newland Hall, near Roxwell, and the manors of Wickhams, Margaretting, with the rectory of Norton Mandeville, co. Essex. Queen Elizabeth let the manor of Farnham, in 1577, to Edward Eliot; she also granted a confirmation of free warren to John Eliot, of Bishop Stortford, father of the above. The two brothers, John and George Eliot, were buried in Bishop Stortford church. Salmon says that an old stone in the chancel had lately this inscription—"Here under this stone lieth buried in the mercies of God the bodies of George Elyot and John Elyot, Gentlemen, being two Brothers, which George deceased the Sept. 6, 1551. The said John, October 30, 1557. Whose deaths have you in Remembrance, calling to God for Mercy." Edward Eliot, the son of John, died at Writtle, co. Essex. A brass in this church bears the following inscription:—"Neere unto this place resteth in peace the body of Edward Eliott, late of Newland, in the countye of Essex, Esq., son of John Eliott, of Stortford, in the countye of Hertford. He tooke wyfe Jane, one of daughters of James Gedge, son and heire of Margaret Gedge, one of the daughters and heire of Thomas Barfield, of Shenfield; by whom he had yssue 4 sonnes and 6 daughters. They lived together in married estate 33 yeres, and he deceased the 22 day of Decemb. in the yere of our Lorde, 1595. *Ætatis suæ 60.*"

† Edward and Jane Elliot possessed property in the parish of Bromfield, *temp.* Elizabeth.

‡ The *Arms* borne by this family are, Ar. a fesse gu. between four

## THE ELIOTS OF ESSEX AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Newcourt mentions a Richard Elyot who was inducted into the living of Chignal St. James' and St. Mary, near Chelmsford, October 22, 1395, which living he resigned in 1400, and on January 31, 1409, he became rector of St. Margaret Moses, London. He is there called Richard Eliot *alias* Chetingdon.

The same writer mentions John Elliot, rector of Danbury, co. Essex, collated September 3, 1428: this living he resigned the following year; and on January 26, 1479, he was rector of Little Ilford, which he resigned in 1486. James Elliott, M.A., was inducted to the living of Rayleigh, Essex, September 11, 1609.

Daniel Elliott was warden in Merchant Tailors' School 1627-8; and Robert Elliot was admitted scholar of Merchant Tailors' School, June 11, 1634.\* Henry Elliot, M.A. became vicar of Gosfield, July 8, 1672, and died 1696. A William Eliot was made Master of the Rolls, November 13, 1485, by patent Hen. VII. John Elyot held land in Apuldfreld, co. Kent, 18 Hen. VI., 1439-40. "John Elyot for le Rodeland and herf and rel. iij." In 1547, Elizabeth Gresham, daughter of Sir John Gresham, Lord Mayor of London, married James Elliot.† Edmund Elyot, clerk, is mentioned in two charters relating to the family of Mantravers (Coll. Top. et Gen., vol. vi., 361). Gideon Elliott was buried in Odiham Church, Hampshire. George Millard Elliott, Esq., of Lowell, Mass., N.E., is the present representative of the Gloucestershire branch of the family. This gentleman's ancestors came from Kingscote or Horsley, co. Gloucester. The history of this family the writer has not been able to trace with any degree of certainty. A few notes from the

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cotises wavy, az. *Crest*: an elephant's head couped proper. Harl. MSS. 6065, f. 103 b.

\* Wilson's "History Merchant Tailors' School."

† Add. MSS. 6239. See also Nichols' "Topog. and Genealogica," vol. ii. p. 514.

Gloucestershire records may be interesting to some. In Cold Aston Church is a monument to the memory of Samuel, son of Joshua Elliott, clerk, and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter to Ed. Aylworth, of Aylworth, co. Gloucester. He died August 16, 1667; she died January 27, 1672. Judith Eliot, daughter of John Eliot, living *temp.* Charles II. In Coaley Churchyard, Gloucestershire, was buried Daniel, son of Maurice Elliott, died November 6, 1729, aged 25. Elizabeth, daughter of William Elliott, grocer, of Bristol, married John Andrew. She died May 25, 1726. Buried at Cromhall, Gloucestershire. William Elliott, son of John Elliott, clothier, and Sarah his wife, died May 26, 1725. In Dursley Church, Esther Tyndal married John Elliott, clerk of Dursley, afterwards rector of Edgworth. She died April 30, 1743, aged 81. Hannah, daughter of John and Esther Elliott, died September 16, 1798. Onesiphorus Elliott, clothier, youngest son of John and Esther Elliott, died April 19, 1766, aged 65. In Dursley Churchyard lies interred Samuel and Elizabeth Elliott. He died February 6, 1774, aged 84. She died December 14, 1727; John, their son, died May 12, 1743, aged 22; William, another son, died July 1, 1770, age 30. Judith, daughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (second wife), died August 12, 1775, aged 26. Joseph Elliott, of Eastington, co. Gloucester, died in August, 1746. Also Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Elliott, died about the same time. Mary Elliotts, of Badgeworth, in the same county, died August 13, 1737. John Millard, probably a relative of George Millard Elliott, Esq., of N.E., died at Dursley, January 6, 1756, aged 66; and Joseph Millard, of Eastington, died in 1713.\* There appears to have been a branch of the Eliots located in Scotland. Adam Eliot, curate of St. James', Duke's Place, was admitted September 5, 1685. He was born in Teviotdale, Scotland, and educated in Gonvil and Caius College, Cambridge. His death occurred about the year 1700. A few persons of the name of Eliot (variously spelt), not apparently of the Nazing branch, sailed

\* Bigland's "History Gloucester."



to America in 1635 : viz., Walter Ellitt, aged 20, sailed in the *Amitie* to St. Christopher's, October 13, 1635. In the same ship sailed Robert Heath, aged 30, and James Curtis, aged 18. Jo. Elliott, aged 36, sailed in the *Constance* to Virginia, October 24, 1635. Henry Elliotts, aged 23, sailed to Barbadoes in the *Expedition*, November 20, 1635. In the parish register of St. Michael's, Barbadoes, 1678, occurs the following entries :—Buried Samuel Peacock, mate of ye *Africa*, C. John Hurlock, commander, July 8. Also Jane Elliot buried October 17; George Elliot, buried November 6. In the following year, 1679, was buried Elizabeth Elliot, widdow April 14, and Richard y<sup>e</sup> son of Richard and Jane Elliot, buried September 15.

A William Eliot, of Salisbury in Wiltshire, went to America in the *Mary and John* 1634. This person was drowned the year following at Cape Ann, with the Rev. Mr. Avery and others, the story of which is so pathetically related by Anthony Thatcher, one of the survivors of the wreck. John Eliot and Margret his wife resided at Watertown, where they had several children; their first child, Elizabeth, was born Feb. 2, 1633-4.\* No less than forty-two of this name, variously spelt, says Savage, had been graduated in 1834 at the several New England colleges, of which eleven were clergy.†

#### CORNWALL FAMILY OF ELIOT.

The ancient family of Eliots, of Coteland, in the county of Devonshire, were very numerous; they afterwards removed to Cornwall. In 1433, Walter Eliot was returned among the gentry of Devonshire. This family, according to their arms, were allied to Sir Richard Eliot, Justice of the King's Bench, *temp.* Henry VIII., who, by his will dated 1520, requested that at his death his remains should be buried in Salisbury Cathedral, of which church Robert Eliot died Sub Dean in 1562.

\* H. Bond, Hist. Watertown, Mass.

† Genealogical Dict.



Edward Eliot, of Coteland, married Alice, daughter of Robert Guy, of Knightsbridge, and had issue two sons, John and Thomas. John, the firstborn, married (1) Grace, daughter of John Fitz; (2) Mary, daughter of John Bruin; Thomas second son, married Joan, daughter of John Norbrooke, of Exeter, by whom he had issue four sons—(1) Richard, (2) Hugh, (3) Walter, (4) Edward; also one only daughter, Alice. Richard, the eldest son, purchased the site of the Priory of St. Germain's, to which he gave the name of Port Eliot, where he lived for many years, and died in 1609. Sir John Eliot, son of the above Richard, was born at St. Germain's in 1590, and became a commoner of Exeter College, Oxford, in 1607. Hallam says of him that "he was the most illustrious confessor in the cause of liberty whom his time produced." He died November 27, 1632, leaving John, who was baptized at Port Eliot, October 18, 1612, and probably married Jane Bonville. He represented the borough of St. Germain's 15, Charles I., and the two first Parliaments of Charles II., and died 1685.\*

"THE WILL OF BENNETT ELLIOTT OF NASEING," CO. ESSEX,†  
(Father of the Apostle to the Indians).

"In the name of God, Amen. The fifth day of November 1621, I. Bennett Elliott of Naseinge in the county of Essex, Yeoman being crasy and weake in body, yet blessed be god of p'fect memory, beinge willinge to render my soule into the hands of my god that gave it and my body to the earth from whence it came to be buried in decent and Xtian manner hopeinge of my eternal salvacon by the death and merrits of Jesus Christ my alone Savio<sup>r</sup> and redeemer doe in the feare of god make this my last will and Testam<sup>t</sup> in manner and forme followinge.

"And first I give and bequeath all the rents and profitts of

\* *Arms* borne by this family—Argent a fess gules, between two bars gemelles wavy, azure. *Crest*: Or a wreath, an elephant's head, coup argent collared gules, supported by two eagles regardant with wings expanded proper, and charged on their breasts with an ermine spot.  
*Motto*—Occurrent nubes.

† Copied from the "Heraldic Journal" (Boston), vol. iv., p. 182.

all my copy and customary lands and tenements with their and every of their appertennances lyeinge and beinge in the severall p'ishes of Ware, Widford, Hunsdon and Estweeke in the county of Hartford unto my trusty and welbeloved friends William Curtis my son in lawe, Nicolaſ Camp the younger and John Keyes all of the sayde parishe of Nasinge for the space of eight yeares from the time of my decease quarterly to pay unto my sonne John Elliott the some of eight pounds a yeare of lawfull money of England for and towards the maintenance in the university of Cambridge where he is a Scholler and the residue of the rents and profitts I give and bequeath for and towards the bringing up of my youngest children That is to say Francis, Jacob, Mary, and Lydia. And the inheritance of all my sayde lands lyeinge in the sayde parishes I give and bequeth as followeth—And first I give and bequeath unto Francis my youngest sonne and to his heires for ever one parcell of land called Crottwell Croft conteyninge twoe acres more or less and one oth' p'cell of land called Coles Croft—conteyninge one acre more or lesse and one parcell of land called Dameter of Great Hyfield one oth' parcell of land lyeinge in Little Westney by estimacon one acre and a halfe more or lesse and one parcell of land lyeinge in Souters Comon meade conteyninge halfe an acre w<sup>th</sup> all the rents and profitts after the end of the sayde eight yeares expired and I give and bequeath unto my sonne Jacob and to his heires forev all that my messauge or tenement in the sayde parishe of Widford with all the lands thereunto belonginge lyeinge in the sayde sev'all parishes of Widford, Ware, Hunsden and Estwick w<sup>th</sup> all oth' the appurtenances oth' than those ands before given to my sonne Francis w<sup>th</sup> all the rents and profitts of the same from and after the sayde eight yeares.

“Itm I give and bequeath unto my daughter Lydia the some of fifty pounds of lawfull money to be payde unto her at the age of eighteene yeares or day of marriage w<sup>ch</sup> shall first happen.

“Item I give unto my daughter\* Mary the some of twenty pounds of like lawfull money to be payde unto her in like manner and I give unto my goddaughter Mary Curtis the some of three pounds of like money payable to her and to the oth'. And my will and mind is that if either of my saide twoe daughters dye before their sayde age or marreage that then the survivo<sup>r</sup> to have her part or legacy as is afore-

\* There is a mistake in calling her *Mary*, it should be *Sarah*, who was the wife of William Curtis. This error is repeated throughout the will.

sayde and that if they both happen to dye before the sayde time that then the some of forty pounds thereof be payde to my sonne John and the residue to and amongst my younger children.

“Item my will and mind is that soe soone as may be after my decease my Executo<sup>rs</sup> make sale of all my stock of cattle corne and all oth<sup>r</sup> goods and chattles that be abroade out of my house and of soe much of my moveable goodes within the house as in their discretions cannot well be kept in their own property till my sayde children be of age to use the same to such p<sup>’</sup>sons as will give most money for the same and the money riseinge thereof to employ for the use behoofe and maintenance of my sayde children to the best advantage they lawfully may or can and further, my will and mind is that my daughter Mary, and my daughter Lidia shall have the right in the yellowe chamber and all that is in the same over and above their parts in the rest of my goodes, and my will and mind is that my sonne Phillip shall have soe much of my household implem<sup>ts</sup> as cannott well be removed w<sup>th</sup> out losse for his part of my sayde goods if it rise to soe much if his part come not to the value then that he may have them at a reasonable price if he will, before any other, and I give unto my sonne Francis foure silver spoones w<sup>ch</sup> were given him at his christining over and above his part of my goodes, and my will is that my daughter Mary Curtis have the keepinge of them till he be of age and for that my sayde daughter Mary Curtis hath heretofore had a good and competent part of my goodes for her portion and preferment in marriage whereby she is already provided for, I give unto her onely the some of five shillings to make her a small ringe to were in remembrance of my love to her and because my estate in goodes and chattles will hardly be sufficient for the education of my younge children, Francis, Jacob, Mary, and Lydia.

“Therefore I more give unto my sayde Friends William Curtis Nicolas Camp and John Keyes whom I trust for their bringinge up the some of tenn pounds a yeare yearly for the space of eighteen yeare after my decease out of my messuage and customary lands in the parish of Nasinge or out of any part thereof for the better maintenance of my sd children, and the inheritance of my sayde messuage lands and Tenements w<sup>th</sup> their appurtenances w<sup>th</sup> all the rents and profits thereof oth<sup>r</sup> then the sayde tenn pounds a yeare out of the same for the time aforesayde I give and bequeath unto my sonne Phillip Elliott and to his heires for ever and my will and mind is that my sayde Friends



pay all such fine or fines as shall be due to the Lord or Lords for their sayde lands when they shall be thereunto admitted and the rest of my estate in goodes, rent money debts or chattles w<sup>th</sup> the profitts thereof, if any be to deliver to my sayde children by even and equall porcons and the end and expiracon of the sayde eightene yeares, and for that cause I doe hereby ordeine and appoint my sayde beloved friends William Curtis, Nicolas Camp the younger and John Keyes my full and sole Executo<sup>rs</sup> of this my last will hopeinge they will p<sup>r</sup>forme the same accordinge to the trust w<sup>ch</sup> I do repose in them and I give to eith<sup>r</sup> of them for their paines herein taken forty shillings a piece and my earnest request is that Mr. John Dey of the sayde parishe of Nasinge Esquire would be aydinge and helpinge to my sayde Executo<sup>rs</sup> by his good councell and advice for the better execution thereof and my will and mind is that if any question or doubt doe arise betweene my s<sup>d</sup> Executo<sup>rs</sup> concerninge this my sayde will that they submitt themselves to be ordered and ruled by him w<sup>th</sup> out any further trouble or contencon.

"In witnes whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale the day and yeare first above written in the p<sup>s</sup>ence of Robert Wonnam, Parnell Bocum, John Dey, John Camp, William Curtis.

"Bennett Elliott. Proved March 28, 1628."\*

### THE CURTIS FAMILY.

The parish registers and other documentary records of Nazing and Waltham Abbey, as well as the Church-books of Roxbury, New England, abound with notices of the Curtis family. Reference has already been made to the Curtis House at Jamaica Plain, N.E., consequently we need only say that the house there built by William Curtis in 1639, after the style of many of the old homesteads now standing in his native village, was standing in 1876, when we received a photograph of it from Miss Catherine P. Curtis, a lineal descendant of the original founder, William Curtis of Nazing, England. The house, when last we heard, was occupied "by the widow and children of Isaac Curtis, the fifth Isaac Curtis who has occupied

\* See Boston "Heraldic Journal" (vol. iv., p. 187) for notes on the will by Mr. Somerby of London.



the house and the seventh in descent from William Curtis, who built it.”\*

*William Curtis* set sail from the shores of Old England, June 22, 1632. The name of the vessel is not given on the list, but some have considered it to be the *Ship Lyon* under the control of Captain Mason; this ship arrived at Boston on Sunday, September 16, 1632. His wife and children accompanied him; their names, however are not entered on the list of passengers. On the list are given the names of Daniel Brewer, William Heath, Thomas Uskitt or Uffit, Robert Shelley, and others. Brewer and Heath settled with William Curtis on Stony River, Roxbury. It is reported that William Curtis had the charge of Ann Mountford, who was betrothed in England to John Eliot, to whom she was married the month after her arrival at Boston.

Several persons of the name of Curtis sailed from England in 1621 and 1635,† but it is difficult to discover the locality from whence they came. John Curtis, aged 22, sailed in the *Flyinge Harte* in 1621. His name occurs in Thomas Godby's muster of the inhabitants of Virginia. Thomas Curtis, aged 24, probably his brother, sailed in the same vessel, and was one of Daniel Gookin's muster of the inhabitants of Virginia. Both John and Thomas were living in 1623. William Curtis,‡ aged 19, sailed from Gravesend in the *George* to Virginia, August 21, 1635. This person may be the ancestor of the present Stratford (Conn.) branch of the family who, some suggest, came from Stratford in Warwickshire, the birthplace of the immortal Shakespeare. It however appears to us as equally probable that he came from Stratford-by-Bow, co. Essex, of which place the father of English poetry, Chaucer, sang—

\* *Vide* “Potter's American Monthly Magazine,” vol. vi., p. 162.

† James Curtis, aged 18, sailed in the *Amitie* bound to St. Christophers, October 13, 1635. George Curtis, freeman, 1640, was servant to John Cotton. Henry Curtis, a man of considerable property, resided at Watertown, Mass., 1636-7. See H. Bond's History of that place.

‡ Savage mentions William Curtis of Stratford, 1642-1702, son of a widow Curtis that came over from England with John.

“Ful wel she sange the service divine,  
 Entuned in hire nose ful swetely ;  
 And Frenche she spake ful fayre and fetisly,  
 After the scole of Stratford atte bowe.”

This town is in the county of Essex and not many miles distant from the home of the first-named William Curtis. In 1640, several of the Curtis family from Roxbury settled in Stratford, Connecticut. Widow Elizabeth Curtis and her two sons John and William are specially mentioned. The latter was 18 years of age at the time. The Curtises and Booths are said to have intermarried many times in England. There was a family of that name living at Malestack, co. Warwickshire, *temp.* Charles I. Mr. S. Clarke mentions a Philip Curtis who married Amy Washington, August 8, 1620.\* Jo. Curtis, aged 21, sailed with Thomas Heath, aged 23, in the ship *Safety*, August 10, 1635, John Graunt, master. This was probably the John Curtis baptized at Nazing, February 26, 1614-15.

Henry Curtis, aged 27, sailed in the *Elizabeth* to N.E., May 6, 1635, and Elizabeth Curtis, aged 22, sailed in the *Faulcon de London* for Barbadoes, April 14, 1635.†

William Curtis, born at Nazing, co. Essex, was baptized November 12, 1592, and married Sarah Eliot (sister to the “Apostle to the Indians,” and daughter of Bennett Eliot). The entry of their marriage is recorded thus—“William Curtis and Sarah Eliot, 6th of August, 1618.” He settled at Roxbury, N.E., 1632, and was made freeman March 4, 1633, the first named on the list of that day. He is said to have taken four children with him, born in England, Thomas, Mary, John, and Philip. The names of the children have been thus arranged—(1) William, (2) Thomas, (3) Mary, (4) John, (5)

\* Records of William Curtis and his descendants, by S. C. Clarke, Boston, 1869. This author quotes from *Hist. Mag.*, vol. v., p. 39: “Amy Washington was sister of John Washington, who emigrated to Virginia in 1657, accompanied by his brother Lawrence. This John Washington was the grandfather of George Washington, first President of the United States.”

† See Camden Hotten, “List of Early Settlers,” 1874. 4to.

Philip, (6) Hannah, (7) Elizabeth, (8) Isaac. It is evident from the parish register of Nazing that he had a daughter Sarah (taking the mother's name) baptized August 5, 1627.

I. *William* is said to have accompanied John Eliot to N.E. the year before his father. In the Roxbury Church records is the following entry of him made by the pastor, John Eliot. —“William, was a hopeful scholar, but God took him in the end of the year 1634.” In the Nazing registers is the entry of the baptism of William Curtis, June 21, 1618. This appears too early for him to be the son of William and Sarah Curtis, as they were not married till the August following. We have not discovered the baptism of another William after that date.

II. *Thomas*, baptized at Nazing, March 12, 1619–20. This one may have died an infant, as there appears in the register the baptism of another Thomas, January 19, 1622–3. Thomas died June 26, 1650, “of a long and tedious consumption.”

III. *Mary*, baptized at Nazing, March 11, 1620–1.

IV. *Elizabeth*, “daughter of William,” baptized at Nazing, February 13, 1624–5, said to have married Isaac Newhall, December 14, 1659.

V. *Sarah*, “daughter of William,” baptized at Nazing, August 5, 1627. She may have died before 1632, as her name is not on the Roxbury records.

VI. *John*, baptized at Nazing, July 17, 1629; married Rebecca Wheeler, December 26, 1661.

VII. *Philip*, baptized at Nazing March 28, 1632, married Obedience Holland, October 20, 1658. He was lieutenant in Captain Henchman's Company, and was slain by the Indians in 1675.

VIII. *Hannah*, born in America, married William Cary (or Geary), 1651.

IX. *Isaac*, born in America, July 22, 1641 (Clarke says 1642). He married Hannah Poly in 1670, and lived in the old homestead on Stony Brook. Died May 31, 1695.

William Curtis, the father, died December 8, 1672, aged 81, and Sarah, his widow, died March 20 or 26, 1673, aged 73.



The following entries occur in the Nazing and Waltham Abbey parish registers :—

#### NAZING.

*Baptisms.*—Thomas Curtis, August 25, 1560; John Curtis, October 11, 1562; Nicholas Curtis, January, 1576-7; John Curtis, September 15, 1577; Martha Curtis, October, 1587; Mary Curtis, March, 1589; Elizabeth Curtis, March 14, 1590-1; Philip Curtis, September, 1591; William Curtis, November 12, 1592; Mary Curtis, January 20, 1593-4; Thomas Curtis, July 21, 1594; George Curtis, October, 1596; Mary Curtis, daughter of Edward Curtis, November 3, 1600; John Curtis, February 13, 1602-3; Susannah Curtis, October 6, 1605; John Curtis, October, 1607; John Curtis, February 26, 1614-15; William Curtis, June 21, 1618; Thomas Curtis, March 12, 1619-20; Mary Curtis, March 11, 1620-1; Thomas Curtis, January 19, 1622-3; Elizabeth Curtis, daughter of William Curtis, February 13, 1624-5; Margaret Curtis, daughter of George Curtis, March 19, 1625-6; Sarah Curtis, daughter of William Curtis, August 5, 1627; Mary Curtis, daughter of George Curtis, October 6, 1628; John Curtis, July 17, 1629; Edward Curtis, son of George Curtis, April 20, 1631; Susan Curtis, daughter of George Curtis, May 16, 1631; Philip Curtis, March 28, 1632; George Curtis, October 20, 1633; Thomas Curtis, son to George Curtis March 25, 1636-7; John Curtis, July 17, 1643.

*Marriages.*—William Tomson and Marion Curtis, May 19, 1561; John Read and Mary Curtis, August 19, 1582; Thomas Curtis and Mary Camp, August 24, 1585; Thomas Curtis and Mary Shelley (wid.), July 3, 1596; John Curtyce and Ann Sansome, June 22, 1608; John Curtyce and Elizabeth Hutchins, April 19, 1610; William Curtis and Sarah Eliot, August 6, 1618; Thomas Ruggles and Marye Curtes, November 1, 1620; John Beech and Marie Curtis, November 17, 1627; Gabriel Curtis and Anne Keyes, May 2, 1642.

*Burials.*—Mother Curtis, November 20, 1561; William



Curtis, *homo*, May 17, 1585; Mary, wife of Thomas Curtis, November 24, 1594; Thomas Curtis, *puer*, July 3, 1594; George Curtis, *senex*, June 27, 1602; Thomas Curtis, *homo*, January 6, 1605-6; Wife of George Curtis, August 14, 1606.

WALTHAM ABBEY (OR HOLY CROSS).

*Baptisms*.—Robert Corteys, the sonne of William Courteys, Aprill 15, 1565; Jone Courtes, the dowghtie of George Courtes, July 18, 1568; Madlyng Cortes, the dowghter of George Cortes, October 16, 1575; Joane, daughter of Thomas Curtice, November 22, 1603; John Curttes, son of George, March 3, 1638-9; Robert Curtis, son of George, May 12, 1641; Thomas Curtis, son of George, June 22, 1645.

*Marriages*.—Thomas Curtes and Alles Avnderson, wedow April 22, 1577; Willm Newman and Catheryne Curtys, June 10, 1590; John Curtis and Phillip Brown, June 5, 1614; Daniell Buckley and Elizabeth Curtisse, November 10, 1616; George Curtis, of Nazing, and Margret Wells, of this parish, July 31, 1623; John Curtis and Mary Brown, August 19, 1661; John Curtis and Mary Tailor, December 7, 1662.

*Burials*.—George Cortes, the sonne of Wm Cortes, of London, July 21, 1566; Madlyng Cortes, the dowghter of George Cortes, November 4, 1575; Mary, wyffe of Edw. Curtiss, May 25, 1612; Curtise, daughter to Edward Curtise, August 16, 1612; Sara Curteouse, daughter of Edward, January 9, 1615-16; the wyfe of Ed. Courteouse, June 26, 1616; Edward Courteouse, carpenter, August 13, 1616; a nurse child of Goodman Curtess, of Copthall green, March 16, 1616-17; the widow Curtis, an old woman, September 11, 1625; Thomas Curtis, son of George, September 22, 1638; Mary Curttiss, a widow, January 21, 1638-9; Mary Handford, a nurse child of George Curttises, January 2, 1639-40; a child of George Curtis, March 20, 1642-3; George Curtisse, Sen., was buried January 28, 1645-6; Nathaniel, son of Christopher Curtis, October 10, 1661; Mary, wife of John Curtis, January 29, 1661-2; Joseph, son of John and Margret Curtis, February 21, 1663-4.

## CHESHUNT.

*Baptized.*—Thomas and Anthony, twins of Henry Curtis, February 14, 1562–3.

In the “Acts of the Court of High Commission,”\* under date June 26, 1634, appears the name of George Curtis, of Little Chart, Kent, Esq. He took oath to answer certain charges made against him. Two days previous Isaac Heath,† of Ware, collar maker, appeared on his oath before the same court. Lyson mentions William Curtis, Commander in the East India Company, who died 1669, and was buried in Stepney churchyard. On his tomb is inscribed the following lines:—

“ Who in this life fifty years did stand,  
And to East India did bear command ;  
Who in his lifetime kept not fast his door,  
And afterwards provided for the poor—  
Sixty pounds per annum for ever.”

This same person in 1669 bequeathed to the parish of Limehouse £6 per annum to apprentice two poor children, and £6 once in two years to be divided among twelve paupers of Limehouse, on the alternate years to be appropriated to the redemption of poor captives.‡

A grant of Arms§ was confirmed to John Curtis of London, May 9, 1632. Guillim tells us that John Curtis was the son of William Curtis, of Halton, co. Warwick, son of Eustace Curtis, of Malestack, son of William Curtis, who was the son of John Curtis, of Malestack, co. Warwick.

Thomas Curtis, of London, was “ fined xiiij li. vis. viii. at the coming in of Queene Mary to the crowne, for not receiving the

\* State Papers, Domestic, Charles I., 1634.

† Brother of William Heath. See subsequent part of this paper.

‡ Environs of London.

§ Arms, *Azure*, a fess dancette between three ducal coronets *or* see *Guillim Heraldry*. Walter Curteys, a blacksmith, 13 Ed. III. 1339, was charged with stealing in the “Ward of Chepe,” several foreign articles, for which he was hanged. Memorial of London, by H. T. Ryley, M.A.

order of Knighthood," &c. Thomas Curtis was Sheriff of London, 30 Henry VIII. In the Additional Manuscripts, British Museum, are several notices of the Curteis family, the name is variously spelt. Richard Curteis, of Tutbury, co. Staffordshire, had a son William, who settled at Hanbury in the same county, *temp.* Ed. II. He had two sons and one daughter—(1) John of Hanbury living in the time of Ed. III. (2) Thomas of the same place, and Matilda who married (1) John Hutton, of Tutbury, (2) William de Burton.\*

A large family of this name resided for many years at Aplemore, co. Kent. Stephen Curteis had three sons—Richard, John, and Reginald, the last named married Margaret, daughter of Lord Cobham.† William Curteis, of Fairfield *temp.* Hen. VIII., had a brother Thomas Curteis, of Aplemore, whose son William married Joan, daughter of . . . . . Pattenden, *circa* 1560. They had issue William, Thomas, Stephen, Robert, George, Peter and John. In Cole's MSS.‡ is an able letter from Dr. Stukeley to Noah Curtis, lord of the manor of Wulstthrop, respecting the escape of King Charles I. from the Scotch Army before Newark, 1646. In the same collection of MSS.,§ dated January 31, 1645, is an account of a fine of 100 marks for the discharge of the delinquency of Wm. Curtis, of Orwell, co. Cambs. Cole states the said William Curtis "went to Oxford, and upon his return thence, being summoned refused to come to his place of habitation. His estate is £40 per annum in lands whereof part is copyhold, 6 cottages," &c. In another part of the MSS. he is called Wm. Curtis, of Basingbourn, co. Cambs. Walter le Curteis de Wells confirmed a charter to the Abbey of West Dereham, co. Norfolk, *temp.* Henry III.||

Baker gives a curious note respecting Robert, eldest son of William the Conqueror. "Robert called Court-cayse of his short thighs, or Court-hose of his short breeches, or Courtois of his courteous behaviour." *Vide Chron.* p. 32.

\* Add. MSS. 6046, f. 133. † 5534, f. 43. ‡ 5886, f. 1. 5846, f. 372.

§ 5819, f. 14.

|| Add. MSS 5842, f. 217.



## ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*A Paper Read before the Royal Historical Society, London,  
June 16th, 1881.*

By HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD, OF CHICAGO.

THE noblest inheritance we Americans derive from our British ancestors is the memory and example of the great and good men who adorn your history. They are as much appreciated and honoured on our side of the Atlantic as on this. In giving to the English-speaking world Washington and Lincoln we think we repay, in large part, our obligation. Their pre-eminence in American history is recognised, and the republic, which the one *founded* and the other *preserved*, has already crowned them as models for her children.

In the annals of almost every great nation some names appear standing out clear and prominent, names of those who have influenced, or controlled the great events which make up history. Such were Wallace and Bruce, in Scotland; Alfred and the Edwards, William the Conqueror, Cromwell, Pitt, Nelson, and Wellington, in England; and such in a still greater degree were Washington and Lincoln.

I am here, from near his home, with the hope that I may, to some extent aid you in forming a just and true estimate of Abraham Lincoln. I knew him somewhat intimately in private and public life for more than twenty years. We practised law at the same bar, and during his administration I was a member of Congress, seeing him and conferring with him often, and, therefore, I may hope without vanity, I trust that I shall be able to contribute something of value in enabling you to judge of him. We in America, as well as you in the old world, believe that "blood will tell;" that it is a great blessing to have had an honourable and worthy ancestry. We believe that moral principle, physical and intellectual vigour in the forefathers are qualities likely to be manifested



in the descendants. Fools are not the fathers or mothers of great men. I claim for Lincoln, humble as was the station to which he was born, and rude and rough as were his early surroundings, that he had such ancestors. I mean that his father and mother, his grandfather and grandmother, and still further back, however humble and rugged their condition, were physically and mentally strong, vigorous men and women; hardy and successful pioneers on the frontier of American civilization. They were among the early settlers in Virginia, Kentucky, and Illinois, and knew how to take care of themselves in the midst of difficulties and perils; how to live and succeed when the weak would perish. These ancestors of Lincoln, for several generations, kept on the very crest of the wave of Western settlements—on the frontier, where the struggle for life was hard and the strong alone survived.

His grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, and his father, Thomas, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia.

About 1781, while his father was still a lad, his grandfather's family emigrated to Kentucky, and was a contemporary with Daniel Boone, the celebrated Indian fighter and early hero of that State. This, a then wild and wooded territory, was the scene of those fierce and desperate conflicts between the settlers and the Indians which gave it the name of "The dark and bloody ground."

When Thomas Lincoln, the father of the President, was six years old his father (Abraham the grandfather of the President) was shot and instantly killed by an Indian. The boy and his father were at work in the corn-field, near their log-cabin home. Mordecai, the elder brother of the lad, at work not far away, witnessed the attack. He saw his father fall, and ran to the cabin, seized his ready-loaded rifle and springing to the loop-hole cut through the logs, he saw the Indian, who had seized the boy, carrying him away. Raising his rifle and aiming at a silver medal, conspicuous on the breast of the Indian, he instantly fired. The Indian fell, and the lad, springing to his feet, ran to the open arms of his mother, at the cabin door. Amidst such scenes, the Lincoln family naturally produced

rude, rough, hardy, and fearless men, familiar with woodcraft; men who could meet the extremes of exposure and fatigue, who knew how to find food and shelter in the forest; men of great powers of endurance—brave and self-reliant, true and faithful to their friends and dangerous to their enemies. Men with minds to conceive and hands to execute bold enterprises.

It is a curious fact that the grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, is noted on the surveys of Daniel Boone as having purchased of the Government, five hundred acres of land. Thomas Lincoln, the father, was also the purchaser of government land, and President Lincoln left as a part of his estate, a quarter-section (one hundred and sixty acres), which he had received from the United States, for services rendered in early life as a volunteer soldier, in the Black-Hawk Indian war. Thus for three generations the Lincoln family were land-owners directly from the Government.

Such was the lineage and family from which President Lincoln sprung. Such was the environment in which his character was developed.

He was born in a log-cabin, in Kentucky, on the 12th of February, 1809.

It will aid you in picturing to yourself this young man and his surroundings, to know that, from boyhood to the age of twenty-one, in winter his head was protected from the cold by a cap made of the skin of the coon, fox, or prairie-wolf, and that he often wore the buckskin breeches and hunting-shirt of the pioneer.

He grew up to be a man of majestic stature and Herculean strength. Had he appeared in England or Normandy, some centuries ago, he would have been the founder of some great Baronial family, possibly of a Royal dynasty. He could have wielded, with ease, the two-handed sword of Guy, the great Earl of Warwick, or the battle-axe of Richard of the Lion-heart.

## HIS EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

The world is naturally interested in knowing what was the education and training which fitted Lincoln for the great work which he accomplished. On the extreme frontier, the means of book-learning was very limited. The common free schools, which now closely follow the heels of the pioneer and organized civil government, and prevail all over the United States, had not then reached the Far West. An itinerant school teacher wandered occasionally into a settlement, opened a private school for a few months, and, at such, Lincoln attended at different times, in all about twelve months. His mother, who was a woman of practical good sense, of strong physical organization, of deep religious feeling, gentle and self-reliant, taught him to read and write.

Although she died when he was only nine years old, she had already laid deep the foundations of his excellence. Perfect truthfulness and integrity, love of justice, self-control, reverence for God, these constituted the solid basis of his character. These were all implanted and carefully cultivated by his mother, and he always spoke of her with the deepest respect and the most tender affection. "All that I am, or hope to be," said he, when President, "I owe to my sainted mother."

He early manifested the most eager desire to learn, but there were no libraries and few books in the back settlements in which he lived. Among the stray volumes which he found in the possession of the illiterate families by which he was surrounded were *Æsop's Fables*, *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, a *Life of Washington*, the poems of *Burns*, and the *Bible*. To these his reading was confined, and he read them over and over again until they became as familiar almost as the alphabet. His memory was marvellous, and I never yet met the man more familiar with the *Bible* than Abraham Lincoln. This was apparent in after life both from his conversation and writings, scarcely a speech or state paper of his in which illustrations and allusions from the *Bible* cannot be found.

While a young man, he made for himself, of coarse paper, a



scrap book, into which he copied everything which particularly pleased him. He found an old English grammar, which he studied by himself; and he formed, from his constant study of the Bible, that simple, plain, clear Anglo-Saxon style, so effective with the people. He illustrated the maxim that it is better to know thoroughly a few good books than to skim over many. When fifteen years old he began (with a view of improving himself) to write on various subjects and to practise in making political and other speeches. These he made so amusing and attractive that his father had to forbid his making them in working hours, for, said he, "when Abe begins to speak all the hands flock to hear him." His memory was so retentive that he could repeat *verbatim* the sermons and political speeches which he heard.

While his days were spent in hard manual labour, and his evenings in study, he grew up strong in body, healthful in mind, with no bad habits; no stain of intemperance, profanity, or vice of any kind. He used neither tobacco nor intoxicating drinks, and thus living, he grew to be six feet four inches high, and a giant in strength. In all athletic sports he had no equal. I have heard an old comrade say, "he could strike the hardest blow with the woodman's axe, and the maul of the rail-splitter, jump higher, run faster than any of his fellows, and there were none, far or near, who could lay him on his back." Kind and cordial, he early developed so much wit and humour, such a capacity for narrative and story-telling that he was everywhere a most welcome guest.

#### A LAND SURVEYOR.

Like Washington, he became in early life a good practical surveyor, and I have in my library the identical book from which at eighteen years of age, he studied the art of surveying. By his skill and accuracy, and by the neatness of his work, he was sought after by the settlers, to survey and fix the boundaries of their farms, and in this way, in part, he earned a support while he studied law. In 1837, self-taught, he was admitted and licensed by the Supreme Court of Illinois to practise law.



## A LAWYER.

It is difficult for me to describe, and perhaps more difficult for you to conceive, the contrast when Lincoln began to practise law, between the forms of the administration of justice in Westminster Hall, and in the rude log court-houses of Illinois. I recall to-day what was said a few years ago by an Illinois friend when we visited for the first time Westminster Abbey, and as we passed into Westminster Hall. "This" he exclaimed, "this is the grandest forum in the world. Here Fox, Burke, and Sheridan hurled their denunciations against Warren Hastings. Here Brougham defended Queen Caroline. And this," he went on to repeat, in the words of Macaulay (words as familiar in America as here) "this is the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which has resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, and which has witnessed the trials of Bacon and Somers, and Strafford and Charles the First." "And yet," I replied, "I have seen justice administered on the prairies of Illinois without pomp or ceremony, everything simple to rudeness, and yet when Lincoln and Douglas led at that bar, I have seen justice administered by judges as pure, aided by advocates as eloquent, if not as learned, as any who ever presided, or plead in Westminster Hall."

The common law of England (said to be the perfection of human wisdom) was administered in both forums, and the decisions of each tribunal were cited as authority in the other, both illustrating that reverence for, and obedience to law which is the glory of the English-speaking race.

Lincoln was a great lawyer. He sought to convince rather by the application of principle than by the citation of authorities. On the whole, he was stronger with the jury than with the court. I do not know that there has ever been, in America, a greater or more successful advocate before a jury, on the right side, than Abraham Lincoln. He had a marvellous power of conciliating and impressing everyone in his favour. A stranger entering the court, ignorant of the case,

and listening a few moments to Lincoln, would find himself involuntarily on his side and wishing him success. He was a quick and accurate reader of character, and seemed to comprehend, almost intuitively, the peculiarities of those with whom he came in contact. His manner was so candid, his methods so direct, so fair, he seemed so anxious that truth and justice should prevail, that everyone wished him success. He excelled in the statement of his case. However complicated, he would disentangle it, and present the important and turning-point in a way so clear that all could understand. Indeed, his statement often alone won his cause, rendering argument unnecessary. The judges would often stop him by saying, "If that is the case, brother Lincoln, we will hear the other side."

His ability in examining a witness, in bringing out clearly the important facts, was only surpassed by his skilful cross-examinations. He could often compel a witness to tell the truth, where he meant to lie. He could make a jury laugh, and generally weep, at his pleasure. On the right side, and when fraud or injustice were to be exposed, or innocence vindicated, he rose to the highest range of eloquence, and was irresistible. But he must have faith in his cause to bring out his full strength. His wit and humour, his quaint and homely illustrations, his inexhaustible stores of anecdote, always to the point, added greatly to his power as a jury-advocate.

He never misstated evidence or misrepresented his opponent's case, but met it fairly and squarely.

He remained in active practice until his nomination, in May, 1860, for the presidency. He was employed in the leading cases in both the federal and state courts, and had a large clientelage, not only in Illinois, but was frequently called on special retainers, to other States.

#### AN ILLINOIS POLITICIAN.

By his eloquence and popularity he became, early in life, the leader of the old Whig party, in Illinois. He served as member of the State Legislature, was the candidate of his

party for speaker, presidential elector, and United States senator, and was a member of the lower house of Congress.

#### SLAVERY.

When the independence of the American republic was established, African slavery was tolerated as a local and temporary institution. It was in conflict with the moral sense, the religious convictions of the people, and the political principles on which the government was founded.

But having been tolerated, it soon became an organized, aggressive power, and, later, it became the master of the Government. Conscious of its inherent weakness, it demanded and obtained additional territory for its expansion. First, the great Louisiana territory was purchased, then Florida, and then Texas.

By the repeal, in 1854, of the prohibition of slavery north of the line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  of latitude (known in America as the "Missouri Compromise"), the slavery question became the leading one in American politics, and the absorbing and exciting topic of discussion. It shattered into fragments the old Conservative Whig party, with which Mr. Lincoln had theretofore acted. It divided the Democratic party, and new parties were organized upon issues growing directly out of the question of slavery.

The leader of that portion of the Democratic party, which continued, for a time, to act with the slavery party, was Stephen Arnold Douglas, then representing Illinois in the United States Senate. He was a bold, ambitious, able man, and had, thus far, been uniformly successful. He had introduced and carried through Congress, against the most vehement opposition, the repeal of the law, prohibiting slavery, called the Missouri Compromise.

#### THE CONTEST BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

The issue having been now distinctly made between freedom and the extension of slavery into the territories, Lincoln and Douglas, the leaders of the Free-soil and Democratic



parties, became more than ever antagonized. The conflict between freedom and slavery now became earnest, fierce, and violent, beyond all previous political controversies, and from this time on, Lincoln pleaded the cause of liberty with an energy, ability, and eloquence, which rapidly gained for him a national reputation. From this time on, through the tremendous struggle, it was he who grasped the helm and led his party to victory. Conscious of a great cause, inspired by a generous love of liberty, and animated by the moral sublimity of his great theme, he proclaimed his determination, ever thereafter, "to speak for freedom, and against slavery, until everywhere the sun shall shine, the rain shall fall, and the wind blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

#### THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS DEBATE.

The great debate between Lincoln and Douglas, in 1858, was, unquestionably, both with reference to the ability of the speakers and its influence upon opinion and events, the most important in American history. I do not think I do injustice to others, nor over-estimate their importance, when I say that the speeches of Lincoln published, circulated, and read throughout the Free States, did more than any other agency in creating the public opinion which prepared the way for the overthrow of slavery. The speeches of John Quincy Adams, and those of Senator Sumner, were more learned and scholarly, and those of Lovejoy and Wendel Philips were more vehement and impassioned; Senators Seward, Chase, and Hale spoke from a more conspicuous forum, but Lincoln's speeches were as philosophic, as able, as earnest as any, and his manner had a simplicity and directness, a clearness of illustration, and his language a plainness, a vigour, an Anglo-Saxon strength, better adapted than any other to reach and influence the understanding and sentiment of the common people.

At the time of this memorable discussion, both Lincoln and Douglas were in the full maturity of their powers. Douglas



being forty-five and Lincoln forty-nine years old. Douglas had had a long training and experience as a popular speaker. On the hustings (stump, as we say in America) and in Congress, and especially in the United States Senate, he had been accustomed to meet the ablest debaters of his State and of the Nation.

His friends insisted that never, either in conflict with a single opponent, or when repelling the assaults of a whole party, had he been discomfited. His manner was bold, vigorous, and aggressive. He was ready, fertile in resources, familiar with political history, strong and severe in denunciation, and he handled with skill all the weapons of the dialectician. His iron will, tireless energy, united with physical and moral courage, and great personal magnetism, made him a natural leader, and gave him personal popularity.

Lincoln was also now a thoroughly trained speaker. He had contended successfully at the bar, in the Legislature, and before the people, with the ablest men of the West, including Douglas, with whom he always rather sought than avoided a discussion. But he was a courteous and generous opponent, as is illustrated by the following beautiful allusion to his rival, made in 1856, in one of their joint debates: "Twenty years ago, Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted; we were both young then; he a trifle younger than I. Even then we were both ambitious, I, perhaps, quite as much as he. With me the race of ambition has been a flat failure. With him it has been a splendid success. His name fills the Nation, and it is not unknown in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached; so reached, that, if the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

We know, and the world knows, that Lincoln did reach that high, nay, far higher eminence, and that he did reach it in such a way that the "oppressed" did share with him in the elevation.

Such were the champions who, in 1858, were to discuss,

before the voters of Illinois, and with the whole Nation as spectators, the political questions then pending, and especially the vital questions relating to slavery. It was not a single combat, but extended through a whole campaign.

On the return of Douglas from Washington to Illinois in July, 1858, Lincoln and Douglas being candidates for the Senate, the former challenged his rival to a series of joint debates to be held at the principal towns in the State. The challenge was accepted, and it was agreed that each discussion should occupy three hours, that the speakers should alternate in the opening and the close—the opening speech to occupy one hour, the reply one hour and a half, and the close half an hour. The meetings were held in the open air, for no hall could hold the vast crowds which attended.

In addition to the immense mass of hearers, reporters from all the principal newspapers in the country attended, so that the morning after each debate the speeches were published and eagerly read by a large part, perhaps a majority, of all the voters of the United States.

The attention of the American people was thus arrested, and they watched with intense interest and devoured every argument of the champions.

Each of these great men, I doubt not, at that time sincerely believed he was right. Douglas's ardour, while in such a conflict, would make him think, for the time being, he was right, and I *know* that Lincoln argued for freedom against the extension of slavery with the most profound conviction that on the result hung the fate of his country. Lincoln had two advantages over Douglas, he had the best side of the question and the best temper. He was always good-humoured, always had an apt story for illustration, while Douglas sometimes when hard pressed was irritable.

Douglas carried away the most popular applause, but Lincoln made the deeper and more lasting impression. Douglas did not disdain an immediate *ad captandum* triumph, while Lincoln aimed at permanent conviction. Sometimes when Lincoln's friends urged him to raise a storm of applause

(which he could always do by his happy illustrations and amusing stories), he refused, saying the occasion was too serious, the issue too grave. "I do not seek applause," said he, "nor to amuse the people, I want to convince them."

It was often observed during this canvass, that while Douglas was sometimes greeted with loudest cheers, when Lincoln closed the people seemed solemn and serious, and could be heard all through the crowd, gravely and anxiously discussing the topics on which he had been speaking.

Douglas secured the immediate object of the struggle, but the manly bearing, the vigorous logic, the honesty and sincerity, the great intellectual powers exhibited by Mr. Lincoln, prepared the way, and, two years later, secured his nomination and election to the presidency. It is a touching incident, illustrating the patriotism of both these statesmen, that widely as they differed, and keen as had been their rivalry, just as soon as the life of the Republic was menaced by treason, they joined hands to shield and save the country they loved.

The echo and the prophecy of this great debate were heard, and inspired hope in the far-off cotton and rice fields of the South. The toiling blacks, to use the words of Whittier, began to hopefully pray :

"We pray de Lord. He gib us signs  
Dat som day we be free.  
De Norf wind tell it to de pines,  
De wild ducks to de sea.

"We tink it when de church-bell ring,  
We dream it in de dream,  
De rice-bird mean it when he sing,  
De eagle when he scream."

#### THE COOPER INSTITUTE SPEECH.

In February, 1860, Mr. Lincoln was called to address the people of New York, and speaking to a vast audience, at the Cooper Institute (the Exeter Hall of the United States), the poet Bryant presiding, he made perhaps the most learned, logical, and exhaustive speech to be found in American anti-



slavery literature. The question was, the power of the National Government to exclude slavery from the territories. The orator from the prairies, the morning after this speech, awoke to find himself famous.

He closed with these words, "Let us have faith that *right* makes *might*, and in that faith let us, to the end, do our duty as we understand it."

This address was the carefully finished product of, not an orator and statesman only, but also of an accurate student of American history. It confirmed and elevated the reputation he had already acquired in the Douglas debates, and caused his nomination and election to the presidency.

If time permitted, I would like to follow Mr. Lincoln, step by step, to enumerate his measures one after another, until, by prudence and courage, and matchless statesmanship, he led the loyal people of the Republic to the final and complete overthrow of slavery and the restoration of the Union.

From the time he left his humble home in Illinois to assume the responsibilities of power, the political horizon black with treason and rebellion, the terrific thunder clouds—the tempest which had been gathering and growing more black and threatening for years—now ready to explode; on and on, through long years of bloody war, down to his final triumph and death—what a drama! His eventful life, terminated by his tragic death, has it not the dramatic unities and the awful ending of the old Greek tragedy?

#### HIS FAREWELL TO HIS NEIGHBOURS.

I know of nothing in history more pathetic than the scene when he bade good-bye to his old friends and neighbours. Conscious of the difficulties and dangers before him—difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable; with a sadness as though a presentiment that he should return no more was pressing upon him, but with a deep religious trust which was characteristic; on the platform of the rail-carriage which was to bear him away to the Capital, he paused and said, "No one can realize the sadness I feel at this parting. Here have



I lived more than a quarter of a century. Here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded but for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which at all times he relied. . . . I hope you, my dear friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain."

And as he waved his hand in farewell to the old home, to which he was never to return, he heard the response from many old friends, "God bless and keep you." "God protect you from all traitors." His neighbours "sorrowing most of all" for the fear that they should see his face no more.

#### HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND APPEAL FOR PEACE.

In his inaugural address, spoken in the open air, and from the eastern portico of the Capitol, and heard by thrice ten thousand people, on the very verge of civil war, he made a most earnest appeal for peace. He gave the most solemn assurance, that "the property, peace, and security of no portion of the Republic should be endangered by his administration." But he declared, with firmness, that the union of the States must be "perpetual," and that he should "execute the laws faithfully in every State." "In doing this," said he, "there need be no bloodshed nor violence, nor shall there be unless forced upon the National Authority." In regard to the difficulties which thus divided the people, he appealed to all to abstain from precipitate action, assuring them that intelligence, patriotism, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken the Republic, "were competent to adjust, in the best way, all existing troubles."

His closing appeal against civil war was most touching, "In your hands," said he, and his voice, for the first time, faltered, "in your hands, and not in mine, are the momentous issues of civil war. . . . You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. . . . I

am," continued he, "loth to close; we are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies: though passion may strain, it must not break the bonds of affection."

The answer to these appeals was the attack upon Fort Sumpter, and immediately broke loose all the maddening passions which riot in blood and carnage and civil war.

I know not how I can better picture and illustrate the condition of affairs, and of public feeling at that time, than by narrating two or three incidents.

#### DOUGLAS'S PROPHECY, JANUARY 1, 1861.

In January, 1861, Senator Douglas, then lately a candidate for the presidency, with Mrs. Douglas, one of the most beautiful and fascinating women in America, a relative of Mrs. Madison, occupied, at Washington, one of the most magnificent blocks of dwellings, called the "Minnesota Block." On New Year's Day, 1861, General Charles Stewart, of New York, from whose lips I write an account of the incident, says:

"I was making a New Year's call on Senator Douglas; after some conversation, I asked him: 'What will be the result, Senator, of the efforts of Jefferson Davis, and his associates, to divide the Union?' We were," said Stewart, "sitting on the sofa together when I asked the question. Douglas rose, walked rapidly up and down the room for a moment, and then pausing, he exclaimed, with deep feeling and excitement:

"'The Cotton States are making an effort to draw in the Border States to their schemes of secession, and I am but too fearful they will succeed. If they do, there will be the most fearful civil war the world has ever seen, lasting for years.' Pausing a moment, he looked like one inspired, while he proceeded: 'Virginia, over yonder, across the Potomac,' pointing towards Arlington, 'will become a charnel-house—but in the end the Union will triumph. They will try,' he continued, 'to get possession of this Capital, to give them *prestige*

abroad, but in that effort they will never succeed ; the North will rise *en masse* to defend it. But Washington will become a city of hospitals, the churches will be used for the sick and wounded. This house,' he continued, 'the *Minnesota Block*, will be devoted to that purpose before the end of the war.'

"Every word he said was literally fulfilled—all the churches nearly were used for the wounded, and the Minnesota Block, and the very room in which this declaration was made, became the 'Douglas Hospital.'

"'What justification for all this?' said Stewart.

"'There is no justification,' replied Douglas. 'I will go as far as the constitution will permit to maintain their just rights. But,' said he, rising upon his feet and raising his arm, 'if the Southern States attempt to secede, I am in favour of their having just so many slaves, and just so much slave territory, as they can hold at the point of the bayonet, and no more.'"

#### WILL THE NORTH FIGHT ?

Many Southern leaders believed there would be no serious war, and laboured industriously to impress this idea on the Southern people.

Benjamin F. Butler, who, as a delegate from Massachusetts to the Charlestown Convention, had voted many times for Breckenridge, the extreme Southern candidate for president, came to Washington, in the winter of 1860-1, to inquire of his old associates what they meant by their threats.

"We mean," replied they, "we mean Separation—a Southern Confederacy. We will have our independence, a Southern Government—with no discordant elements."

"Are you prepared for war?" said Butler, coolly.

"Oh, there will be no war; the North won't fight."

"The North *will* fight," said Butler; "the North will send the *last man* and expend the *last dollar* to maintain the Government."

"But," replied Butler's Southern friends, "the North can't fight—we have too many allies there."

"You have friends," responded Butler, "in the North who



will stand by you so long as you fight your battles in the Union, but the moment you fire on the flag, the North will be a unit against you. And," Butler continued, "you may be assured if war comes, *slavery ends.*"

THE SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS, JULY, 1861.

On the brink of this civil war, the President summoned Congress to meet on the 4th of July, 1861, the anniversary of our Independence. Seven States had already seceded, were in open revolt, and the chairs of their representatives, in both Houses of Congress, were vacant. It needed but a glance at these so numerous vacant seats to realize the extent of the defection, the gravity of the situation, and the magnitude of the impending struggle. The old pro-slavery leaders were absent, some in the rebel government, set up at Richmond, and others marshalling troops in the field. Hostile armies were gathering, and from the dome of the Capitol, across the Potomac, and on toward Fairfax, in Virginia, could be seen the Confederate flag.

Breckenridge, late the Southern candidate for president, now senator from Kentucky, and soon to lead a rebel army, still lingered in the Senate. Like Cataline among the Roman senators, he was regarded with aversion and distrust. Gloomy and, perhaps, sorrowful, he said, "I can only look with sadness on the melancholy drama that is being enacted."

Pardon the digression while I relate an incident which occurred in the Senate at this special session.

Senator Baker, of Oregon, was making a brilliant and impassioned reply to a speech of Breckenridge, in which he denounced the Kentucky senator for giving aid and encouragement to the enemy by his speeches. At length he paused, and turning toward Breckenridge, and fixing his eye upon him, he asked, "What would have been thought if, after the battle of Cannæ, a Roman senator had risen amidst the Conscript Fathers, and denounced the war, and opposed all measures for its success?"

Baker paused, and every eye in the Senate and in the



crowded galleries was fixed upon the almost solitary senator from Kentucky. Fessenden broke the painful silence by exclaiming, in low deep tones, which gave expression to the thrill of indignation which ran through the hall, "He would have been hurled from the Tarpeian Rock."

Congress manifested its sense of the gravity of the situation by authorizing a loan of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, and empowering the President to call into the field five hundred thousand men, and as many more as he might deem necessary.

#### SURRENDER OF MASON AND SLIDELL.

No act of the British Government, since the "Stamp Act" of the Revolution, has ever excited such intense feeling of hostility towards Great Britain as her haughty demand for the surrender of Mason and Slidell. It required *nerve* in the President to stem the storm of popular feeling, and yield to that demand, and it was, for a time, the most unpopular act of his administration. But when the excitement of the day had passed, it was approved by the sober judgment of the nation.

Prince Albert is kindly and gratefully remembered in America, where it is believed that his action, in modifying the terms of that demand, probably saved the United States and Great Britain from the horrors of war.

#### LINCOLN AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

When in June, 1858, at his home, in Springfield, Mr. Lincoln startled the people with the declaration, "This Government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free," and when, at the close of his speech, to those who were labouring for the ultimate extinction of slavery, he exclaimed, with the voice of a prophet, "We shall not fail; if we stand firm we shall *not* fail. Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes delay, but sooner or later the victory is sure to come;" he anticipated success, through years of discussion, and final triumph through peaceful and constitutional means by the

ballot. He did not foresee, nor even dream (unless in those dim mysterious shadows, which sometimes startle by half revealing the future) of his own elevation to the presidency. He did not then suspect that he had been appointed by God, and should be chosen by the people, to proclaim the emancipation of a race, and to save his country. He did not foresee that slavery was so soon to be destroyed, amidst the flames of war which itself kindled.

#### HIS MODERATION.

He entered upon his administration with the single purpose of maintaining national unity, and many reproached and denounced him for the slowness of his anti-slavery measures. The first of the series was the abolition of slavery at the National Capitol. This act gave freedom to three thousand slaves, with compensation to their loyal masters. Contemporaneous with this was an Act conferring freedom upon all coloured soldiers who should serve in the Union armies and upon their families. The next was an Act, which I had the honour to introduce, prohibiting slavery in all the territories, and wherever the National Government had jurisdiction. But the great, the decisive Act of his administration was the "Emancipation Proclamation."

#### EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

The President had urged, with the utmost earnestness, on the loyal slaveholders of the Border States, gradual and compensated emancipation, but in vain. He clearly saw, all saw, that the slaves, as used by the Confederates, were a vast power, contributing immensely to their ability to carry on the war, and that by declaring their freedom he would convert millions of freed men into active friends and allies of the Union. The people knew that he was deliberating upon the question of issuing this Emancipation Proclamation. At this crisis the Union men of the Border States made an appeal to him to withhold the edict, and suffer slavery to survive.

They selected John J. Crittenden, a venerable and eloquent

man, and their ablest statesman, to make, on the floor of Congress, a public appeal to the President to withhold the proclamation. Mr. Crittenden had been governor of Kentucky, her senator in Congress, Attorney-General of the United States, and now, in his old age, covered with honours, he accepted, like John Quincy Adams, a seat in Congress, that in this crisis he might help to save his country.

He was a sincere Union man, but believed it unwise to disturb slavery. In his speech he made a most eloquent and touching appeal, from a Kentuckian to a Kentuckian. He said, among other things, "There is a niche, near to that of Washington, to him who shall save his country. If Mr. Lincoln will step into that niche, the *founder* and the *preserver* of the Republic shall stand side by side." . . . Owen Lovejoy, the brother of Elijah P. Lovejoy, who had been mobbed and murdered because he would not surrender the liberty of the press, replied to Crittenden. After his brother's murder, kneeling upon the green sod which covered that brother's grave, he had taken a solemn vow of eternal war upon slavery. Ever after, like Peter the Hermit, with a heart of fire and a tongue of lightning, he had gone forth preaching his crusade against slavery. At length, in his reply, turning to Crittenden, he said: "The gentleman from Kentucky says he has a niche for Abraham Lincoln—where is it?"

Crittenden pointed towards heaven.

Lovejoy, continuing, said, "He points upward; but, sir, if the President follows the counsel of that gentleman, and becomes the perpetuator of slavery, he should point *downward* to some dungeon in the temple of Moloch, who feeds on human blood, and where are forged chains for human limbs; in the recesses of whose temple woman is scourged and man tortured, and outside the walls are lying dogs gorged with human flesh, as Byron describes them, lying around the walls of Stamboul. That," said Lovejoy, "is a suitable place for the statue of him who would perpetuate slavery."

"I, too," said he, "have a temple for Abraham Lincoln, but it is in Freedom's holy fane, . . . not surrounded by slave



fetters and chains, but with the symbols of freedom—not dark with bondage, but radiant with the light of liberty. In that niche he shall stand proudly, nobly, gloriously, with broken chains and slaves' whips beneath his feet. . . . That is a fame worth living for, aye, more, it is a fame worth dying for, though that death led through Gethsemane and the agony of the accursed tree.” . . .

“It is said,” continued he, “that Wilberforce went up to the judgment-seat with the broken chains of eight hundred thousand slaves! Let Lincoln make himself the Liberator, and his name shall be enrolled, not only in this earthly temple, but it shall be traced on the living stones of that temple which is reared amid the thrones of heaven.”

Lovejoy's prophecy has been fulfilled—in this world—you see the statues to Lincoln, with broken chains at his feet, rising all over the world; and—in that other world—few will doubt that the prophecy has been realized.

In September, 1862, after the Confederates, by their defeat at the great battle of Antietam, had been driven back from Maryland and Pennsylvania, Lincoln issued the proclamation. It is a fact illustrating his character, and showing that there was in him what many would call a tinge of superstition, that he declared to Secretary Chase that he had made a solemn vow to God, saying, “If General Lee is driven back from Pennsylvania, I will crown the result with the declaration of FREEDOM TO THE SLAVE.” The final Proclamation was issued on the 1st of January, 1863. In obedience to an American custom, he had been receiving calls on that New Year's Day, and, for hours, shaking hands. As the paper was brought to him by the Secretary of the State, to be signed, he said, “Mr. Seward, I have been shaking hands all day, and my right hand is almost paralyzed. If my name ever gets into history, it will be for this act, and my whole soul is in it. If my hand trembles when I sign the proclamation, those who examine the document hereafter will say, ‘He hesitated.’”

Then, resting his arm a moment, he turned to the table,



took up the pen, and slowly and firmly wrote *Abraham Lincoln*. He smiled as, handing the paper to Mr. Seward, he said, "That will do."

From this day to its final triumph the tide of victory seemed to set more and more in favour of the Union cause. The capture of Vicksburg, the victory of Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Chicksaw, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Sheridan's brilliant campaign in the Valley of the Shenandoah; Thomas's decisive victory at Nashville; Sherman's march, through the Confederacy, to the sea; the capture of Fort McAllister; the *sinking of the Alabama*; the taking of Mobile, by Farragut; the occupation of Columbus, Charlestown, Savannah; the evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond; the surrender of Lee to Grant; the taking of Jefferson Davis a prisoner; the triumph everywhere of the National arms; such were the events which followed (though with delays and bloodshed) the "Proclamation of Emancipation."

#### THE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Meanwhile Lincoln had been triumphantly re-elected, Congress had, as before stated, abolished slavery at the Capital, prohibited it in all the territories, declared all negro soldiers in the Union armies and their families free, and had repealed all laws which sanctioned or recognised slavery, and the President had crowned and consummated all by the proclamation of emancipation. One thing alone remained to perfect, confirm, and make everlastingly permanent these measures, and this was to embody in the Constitution itself the prohibition of slavery everywhere within the Republic.

To change the organic law required the adoption by a two-thirds vote of a joint resolution by Congress, and that this should be submitted to and ratified by two-thirds of the States.

The President, in his annual message and in personal interviews with members of Congress, urged the passage of such resolution. To test the strength of the measure in the

House of Representatives, I had the honour, in February, 1864, to introduce the following resolution :—

“ *Resolved*, That the Constitution should be so amended as to abolish slavery in the United States wherever it now exists, and to prohibit its existence in every part thereof for ever ” (Cong. Globe, vol. 50, p. 659). This was adopted by a decided vote, and was the first resolution ever passed by Congress in favour of the entire abolition of slavery. But, although it received a majority, it did not receive a majority of two-thirds.

The debates on the Constitutional Amendment (perhaps the greatest in our Congressional history, certainly the most important since the adoption of the Constitution) ran through two sessions of Congress. Charles Sumner, the learned senator from Massachusetts, brought to the discussion in the Senate his ample stores of historical illustration, quoting largely in its favour from the historians, poets, and statesmen of the past.

The resolution was adopted in the Senate by the large vote of ayes 38, noes 6.

In the Lower House, at the first session, it failed to obtain a two-thirds vote, and, on a motion to reconsider, went over to the next session.

Mr. Lincoln again earnestly urged its adoption, and, in a letter to Illinois friends, he said, “ The signs look better. . . . Peace does not look so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth keeping in all future time.”

I recall, very vividly, my New Year’s call upon the President, January, 1864. I said :—

“ I hope, Mr. President, one year from to-day I may have the pleasure of congratulating you on the occurrence of three events which now seem probable.”

“ What are they ? ” inquired he.

“ 1. That the rebellion may be entirely crushed.

“ 2. That the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing and prohibiting slavery, may have been adopted.

"3. And that Abraham Lincoln may have been re-elected President."

"I think," replied he, with a smile, "I would be glad to accept the first two as a compromise."

General Grant, in a letter remarkable for that clear good sense and practical judgment for which he is distinguished, condensed into a single sentence the political argument in favour of the Constitutional Amendment: "The North and South," said he, "can *never* live at peace with each other except as *one nation*, and *that without slavery*."

#### GARFIELD'S SPEECH.

I would be glad to quote from this great debate, but must confine myself to a brief extract from the speech of the present President, then a member of the House. He began by saying: "Mr. Speaker, we shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic, and in this Hall, until we know why sin outlives disaster and Satan is immortal. . . . How well do I remember," he continued, "the history of that distinguished predecessor of mine, *Joshua R. Giddings*, lately gone to his rest, who, with his forlorn hope of faithful men, took his life in his hands and, in the name of justice, protested against the great crime, and who stood bravely in his place until his white locks, like the plume of Henry of Navarre, marked where the battle of freedom raged fiercest. . . . In its mad arrogance, slavery lifted its hand against the Union, and since that fatal day it has been a fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth."

Up to the last roll-call, on the question of the passage of the resolution, we were uncertain and anxious about the result. We needed Democratic votes. We knew we should get some, but whether enough to carry the measure none could surely tell.

As the clerk called the names of members, so perfect was the silence that the sound of a hundred pencils keeping tally could be heard through the hall.

Finally, when the call was completed, and the Speaker

announced that the resolution was adopted, the result was received by an uncontrollable burst of enthusiasm. Members and spectators (especially the galleries, which were crowded with convalescent soldiers) shouted and cheered, and before the Speaker could obtain quiet, the roar of artillery on Capitol Hill proclaimed to the City of Washington the passage of the resolution. Congress adjourned, and we hastened to the White House to congratulate the President on the event.

He made one of his happiest speeches. In his own peculiar words, he said, "*The great job is finished.* I cannot but congratulate," said he, "all present, myself, the country, and the whole world on this great moral victory."

#### PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

And now, with an attempt to sketch very briefly some of his peculiar personal characteristics, I must close.

This great Hercules of a man had a heart as kind and tender as a woman. Sterner men thought it a weakness. It saddened him to see others suffer, and he shrunk from inflicting pain. Let me illustrate his kindness and tenderness by one or two incidents. One summer's day, walking along the shaded path leading from the Executive Mansion to the War Office, I saw the tall awkward form of the President seated on the grass under a tree. A wounded soldier, seeking back pay and a pension, had met the President, and, having recognised him, asked his counsel. Lincoln sat down, examined the papers of the soldier, told him what to do, and sent him to the proper Bureau with a note which secured prompt attention.

After the terribly destructive battles between Grant and Lee, in the Wilderness of Virginia after days of dreadful slaughter, the lines of ambulances, conveying the wounded from the steamers on the Potomac to the great field hospitals on the heights around Washington, would be continuous—one unbroken line from the wharf to the hospital. At such a time I have seen the President, in his carriage, driving slowly along the line, and he looked like one who had lost the dearest



members of his own family. On one such occasion, meeting me, he stopped and said, "I cannot bear this; this suffering, this loss of life—is dreadful."

I recalled to him a line from a letter he had years before written to a friend, whose great sorrow he had sought to console. Reminding him of the incident, I asked him, "Do you remember writing to your suffering friend these words:—

*"And this too shall pass away,  
Never fear. Victory will come."*

In all his State papers and speeches during these years of strife and passion, there can be found no words of bitterness, no denunciation. When others railed, he railed not again. He was always dignified, magnanimous, patient, considerate, manly, and true. His duty was ever performed "with malice toward none, with charity for all," and with "firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

#### NEVER A DEMAGOGUE.

Lincoln was never a demagogue. He respected and loved the people, but never flattered them. No man ever heard him allude to his humble life and manual labour, in a way to obtain votes. None knew better than he, that splitting rails did not qualify a man for public duties. He realized painfully the defects of his education, and laboured diligently and successfully to supply his deficiencies.

#### HIS CONVERSATION.

He had no equal as a talker in social life. His conversation was fascinating and attractive. He was full of wit, humour, and anecdote, and at the same time original, suggestive, and instructive. There was in his character a singular mingling of mirthfulness and melancholy. While his sense of the ludicrous was keen, and his fun and mirth were exuberant, and sometimes almost irrepressible; his conversation sparkling with jest, story, and anecdote and in droll description, he would pass suddenly to another mood, and become sad and

pathetic—a melancholy expression of his homely face would show that he was “a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.”

#### HIS STORIES.

The newspapers, in America, have always been full of Lincoln's stories and anecdotes, some true and many fabulous.

He always had a story ready, and, if not, he could improvise one, just fitted for the occasion. The following may, I think, be said to have been *adapted* :—

An Atlantic port, in one of the British provinces was, during the war, a great resort and refuge for blockade-runners, and a large contraband trade was said to have been carried on from that port with the Confederates. Late in the summer of 1864, while the election of president was pending, Lincoln being a candidate, the Governor-General of that province, with some of the principal officers, visited Washington, and called to pay their respects to the executive. Mr. Lincoln had been very much annoyed by the failure of these officials to enforce very strictly the rules of neutrality, but he treated his guests with great courtesy. After a pleasant interview, the Governor alluding to the approaching presidential election, said jokingly, but with a grain of sarcasm : “I understand, Mr. President, everybody votes in this country. If we remain until November can we vote ?”

“You remind me,” replied the President, “of a countryman of yours, a green emigrant from Ireland. Pat arrived in New York on election day, and was, perhaps, as eager as your Excellency to vote, and to vote early and late and often. So, upon his landing at Castle Garden, he hastened to the nearest voting place, and, as he approached, the judge who received the ballots inquired, ‘Who do you want to vote for ? on which side are you ?’ Poor Pat was embarrassed, he did not know who were the candidates. He stopped, scratched his head, then with the readiness of his countrymen, he said :—

“‘I am forrent the Government, anyhow. Tell me, if your Honour plases, which is the rebellion side, and I'll tell

you how I want to vote. In Ould Ireland, I was always on the rebellion side, and, by St. Patrick, I'll stick to that same in America.'

"Your Excellency," said Mr. Lincoln, "would, I should think, not be at all at a loss on which side to vote?"

#### THE BOOKS HE READ.

The two books he read most were the Bible and Shakespeare. With them he was familiar, reading and quoting from them constantly. Next to Shakespeare, among the poets, was Burns, with whom he had a hearty sympathy, and upon whose poetry he wrote a lecture. He was extremely fond of ballads, and of simple, sad, and plaintive music

I called one day at the White House, to introduce two officers of the Union army, both Swedes. Immediately he began and repeated from memory, to the delight of his visitors, a long ballad, descriptive of Norwegian scenery, a Norse legend, and the adventures of an old Viking among the fiords of the North.

He said he had read the poem in a newspaper, and the visit of these Swedes recalled it to his memory.

On the last Sunday of his life, as he was sailing up the Potomac, returning to Washington from his visit to Richmond, he read aloud many extracts from Macbeth, and, among others, the following, and with a tone and accent so impressive that, after his death, it was vividly recalled by those who heard him :

"Duncan is in his grave ;  
After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well ;  
Treason has done his worst : nor steel, nor poison,  
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,  
Can touch him further !"

After his assassination, those friends could not fail to recall this passage from the same play.

"This Duncan  
 Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been  
 So clear in his great office, that his virtues  
 Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued against  
 The deep damnation of his taking-off."

#### HIS RELIGION.

It is strange that any reader of Lincoln's speeches and writings, should have had the hardihood to charge him with infidelity, but the charge, having been repeatedly made, I reply, in the light of facts accessible to all, that no more reverent Christian (not excepting Washington) ever filled the chair of President. Declarations of his trust in God, his faith in the efficacy of prayer, pervade his speeches and writings. From the time he left Springfield, to his death, he not only himself continually prayed for Divine assistance, but never failed to ask the prayers of others for himself and his country.

His reply to the negroes of Baltimore, who, in 1864, presented him with a beautiful Bible, as an expression of their love and gratitude, ought to have silenced all who have made such charges. After thanking them, he said: "This great book is the best gift God has given to man. All the good from the Saviour of the world is communicated through this book."

When a member of Congress, knowing his religious character, asked him why he did not join some church, Mr. Lincoln replied, "Because I found difficulty, without mental reservation, in giving my assent to their long and complicated confessions of faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar the Saviour's condensed statement of law and gospel: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart."



## WHAT HE ACCOMPLISHED.

Let us try to sum up in part what he accomplished.

When he assumed the duties of the executive he found an empty treasury, the National credit gone, the little nucleus of an army and navy scattered and disarmed, the officers who had not deserted to the rebels, strangers; the party which elected him in a minority (he having been elected only because his opponents were divided between Douglas, Breckenridge, and Everett); the old Democratic party, which had ruled most of the time for half a century, hostile; and even that part of it in the North, from long association, in sympathy with the insurgents; his own party made up of discordant elements, and neither he nor his party had acquired prestige and the confidence of the people. It is the exact truth to say that when he entered the White House he was the object of personal prejudice to a majority of the American people, and of contempt to a powerful minority. He entered upon his task of restoring the integrity of a broken Union without sympathy from any of the great powers of Western Europe. Those which were not hostile, manifested a cold neutrality, exhibiting toward him and his government no cordial goodwill, nor extending any moral aid. Yet, in spite of all, he crushed the most stupendous rebellion, supported by armies more vast, by resources greater, and an organization more perfect, than ever before undertook the dismemberment of a nation. He united and held together, against contending factions, his own party, and strengthened it by securing the confidence and winning the support of the best part of all parties. He composed the quarrels of rival generals; and at length won the respect and confidence and sympathy of all nations and peoples. He was re-elected, almost by acclamation, and, after a series of brilliant victories, he annihilated all armed opposition. He led the people, step by step, to emancipation, and saw his work crowned by an amendment of the Constitution, eradicating and prohibiting slavery for ever throughout the Republic.

Such is a brief and imperfect summary of his achievements during the last five years of his life. And this good man, when the hour of victory came, made it not the hour of vengeance, but of forgiveness and reconciliation.

These five years of incessant labour and fearful responsibility told even upon his strength and vigour. He left Illinois for the Capital, with a frame of iron and nerves of steel. His old friends who had known him as a man who did not know what illness was; who had seen him on the prairies before the Illinois courts, full of life, genial, and sparkling with fun; now saw the wrinkles on his forehead deepened into furrows; the laugh of the old days lost its heartiness; anxiety, responsibility, care, and hard work wore upon him, and his nerves of steel, at times became irritable. He had had no respite, had taken no holidays. When others fled away from the dust and heat of the Capital, he stayed. He would not leave the helm until all danger was past, and the good ship of State had made her port.

I will not dwell upon the unutterable sorrow of the American people at his shocking death. But I desire to express here, in this great City of this grand Empire, the sensibility with which the people of the United States received, at his death, the sympathy of the English-speaking race.

That sympathy was most eloquently expressed by all. It came from Windsor Castle to the White House; from England's widowed Queen to the stricken and distracted widow at Washington. From Parliament to Congress, from the people of all this magnificent Empire, as it stretches round the world, from England to India, from Canada to Australia, came words of deep feeling, and they were received by the American people, in their sore bereavement, as the expression of a kindred race.

I cannot forbear referring in particular to the words spoken in Parliament on that occasion by Lords Russell and Derby, and especially by that great and picturesque leader, so lately passed away, Lord Beaconsfield. After a discriminating eulogy upon the late President, and the expression of profound sympathy, he said :

“Nor is it possible for the people of England, at such a moment, to forget that he sprang from the same fatherland and spake the same mother-tongue.”

God grant that in all the unknown future, nothing may ever disturb the friendly feeling and respect which each nation entertains for the other. May there never be another quarrel in the family.

VOLTAIRE, IN HIS RELATION TO THE STUDY  
OF GENERAL HISTORY, FROM A PHILOSOPHICAL  
POINT OF VIEW.

BY DR. G. G. ZERFFI, F.R.S.L., F.R. HIST. SOC.,  
CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL, ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Read 21st July, 1881.)

THE XCVth volume of the Transactions of the Philosophico-Historical Section of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna contains a paper under the title of "Studies on Voltaire," by Dr. Richard Mayr, in which is recorded a statement, made by some French writers to the effect that Kant's philosophy was merely a compilation in unintelligible and scholastic verbiage of those principles and theories which Voltaire had long before enunciated in intelligible and popular language. This assertion appeared to me so gross an outrage on historical truth that I felt bound to contradict it.

With Kant I have dealt in a former paper (1875). He was in general as thoroughly misunderstood as Voltaire. The former was looked upon as a metaphysical dreamer, whilst the latter was condemned as a realistic atheist.

I have shown Kant to have been an entirely practical philosopher, who succeeded in demonstrating the uselessness of all metaphysical researches, made beyond the limited power of our reason. As a complement to my former paper I will endeavour to assign to Voltaire his relation to general history from an entirely objective and philosophical point of view, and in conclusion I will draw a parallel between the *Teuton* Kant and the *French* Voltaire.

Voltaire's works were criticised and translated into nearly every important European language. There are no less than 765 entries on Voltaire in the catalogue of the British Museum,



under the heading "Arouet." Voltaire's works have become a kind of gospel to French, German, Italian, English, and Russian Free-thinkers, Radicals, Communists, and Socialists. He was praised and abused, worshipped and cursed, idolised and condemned. He was called an atheistic scoffer, an infidel blasphemer, a scurrilous mountebank, and a superficial buffoon.

This abused atheist, if studied properly, proves to have been a stern Deist, believing in eternal rewards and punishments ("Il faut reconnaître un Dieu *récompensateur et vengeur*, ou n'en point reconnaître du tout. . . . Ou il n'y a point de Dieu, ou Dieu est juste" (Homélie sur l'Athéisme, 1767).

In his letters addressed to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Voltaire says, referring to Pope Alexander VI., who caused all those he robbed of their goods to perish by the stiletto, by the rope, or by poison, after having granted them indulgences "in articulo mortis," that is, "remission of sins at the last moment,"—"Alas! my Prince, what does all this prove? That the curb of a pure religion, disengaged and cleared from all the superstitions which dishonour and render it incredible, was absolutely necessary to those great criminals. If religion had been more purified, there would have been less incredulity and fewer crimes. Whoever firmly believes in a God recompenser of virtue and avenger of guilt, will tremble on the point of assassinating the innocent, the dagger will drop out of his hands. But the Italians, knowing nothing of Christianity but from ridiculous legends, from the follies and frauds of the monks, imagined there was no religion, because their religion, so dishonoured, appeared to them absurd. From Savonarola's being a false prophet, they inferred that there was *no God*, which is but a bad argument. The execrable politics of those times made them commit a thousand crimes, and their not less horrid philosophy stifled their remorse; they wished to annihilate the God that was to punish them."

Only a few years before he finished his earthly pilgrimage Voltaire threw down the gauntlet of controversy to the author of the "Système de la nature." That he was all his life an opponent of atheism is amply confirmed in his articles under

the headings "Athée, Athéisme, Dieu." There are further proofs in his

*Traité de Metaphysique* (1734).

*Dialogue entre Lucrèce et Posidonius* (1758).

*Homélie prononcée à Londres* : "Sur l'Athéisme" (1767).

*A Villevielle* (1768).

*Correspondence* (1770).

*Histoire de Jenni* (1775).

*Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron* (1776).

*Dialogue d'Evhemère* (1777).

These writings spread over forty-three years of his life, during which period he must have formed some settled notion as to his belief in the existence of the Deity. As we have, however, pre-eminently to deal with Voltaire as an historian, his subjective dogmatic principles are of secondary importance.

Voltaire was induced to devote himself to the study of history by the Marquise du Châtelet, who felt that there was still a vacuum in her mind after having mastered mathematics, Newton's "Principia," and Leibnitz's philosophy. She felt the need of learning something concerning man, and the part which he played on earth. Did man act by chance, under the guidance of a superior power, or according to certain laws, like the universe itself of which man is but a completing particle?

She began to study history, and at the outset felt herself beset by two difficulties. Either she found nothing but a chaotic mass of isolated facts, or a collection of apparent falsehoods, improbabilities, and impossibilities, so that in despair she gave up the study of history.

Voltaire knew that in Le Long's "Bibliothèque," published in 1719, there were no less than 17,487 works exclusively treating of the history of France; but he consoled himself with the thought that "happily the vast majority of these books was not worth reading." This prodigious number had increased (according to the folio edition in five volumes, 1768-1778) to 42,000 works. It makes one shudder to think what the number may now be after the lapse of a century. The

historical works on France from the reign of Francis I. (1515 to 1725) were so numerous that Voltaire exclaimed, "Il faudrait vivre *cent ans*, pour lire seulement toutes les histoires depuis François I." (A Belle Isle, August 4, 1752). And yet Voltaire was not discouraged, and endeavoured to persuade the Marquise du Châtelet and himself that there might be a way to study history from a scientific point of view. He began to wade through the most important ancient and mediæval historical works, full of dates and assertions of facts, but furnishing no means of understanding the harmony or discord of human actions, or rather giving no insight into the causes of which historical phenomena were the necessary effects. Voltaire's great merit lay in his earnest attempt to place the study of history on a sounder, more scientific basis than had been customary up to his own times.

In Italy and Germany humanitarian and religious, or theological tendencies prevailed ; whilst in England and France rationalism and practical realism swayed the minds of the most important historical writers. England produced Bolingbroke, Robertson, and Hume ; Italy, Vico, Muratori, and Cesare Cantu ; whilst Germany could boast of Griesbach, Wegelin, Chladenius, and Lessing ; in France there were Bodin, Popelinière, Hotman, &c., who utilized the glories of the past, looked upon the variety of historical events as outgrowths of some ruling master-mind, specially chosen for that purpose, and made reflections on the close connection between an earthly monarch and a heavenly monotheos, in order to support and strengthen the power of the French autocrat under whom the study of history, for politico-social reasons, was suddenly considered a necessity. The victorious despotism of the mighty ruler soon checked all independent inquiry, and permitted only such facts to be stated and printed, as served to glorify the omnipotent central power. What had been done in other countries from a sectarian or theological point of view with the composition of history, was done in France for exclusively political reasons.

The clergy undertook to officiate as the mediators between



ruler and people, and the supernatural and the natural. This made "general history" during the reign of Louis XIV., the so-called golden age of French literature, so extremely humble loyal, and submissive in principle, and refined in style. No attempt was made to critically discriminate between what might be probable or improbable, possible or impossible.

Bossuet often indulged in admirable analytical reflections. He even spoke of "the concatenation of human affairs;" but he was always anxious to prove what had been taken for granted by the Church and the court.

Daniel, the Jesuit, was next in importance to Bossuet. He was unjustly attacked by Voltaire, "who said of him that he who did not know that he was a Jesuit would take him for a colour-sergeant. This man speaks of nothing but of the right wing and the left wing." But though Daniel may have given undue prominence to military matters—then the favourite topic at court—he possessed some of the good qualities of an historian, and the present Republican writers of France admit that Daniel's "History of France" is a master-work, of course from an exclusively French national point of view.

Abbé Fleury's "Church History" ("Histoire Ecclesiastique," 20 vols. Paris, 1691-1720) obtained praise even from the critical mind of Voltaire; but it was after all a one-sided history, omitting everything controversial, smoothing down incongruities, passing over in silence well-founded objections and extolling whatever the Church had done.

The fault of all these works was that they were composed without any critical discernment. Unhappily "the historians were no critics, and the critics were no historians," until Voltaire, the philosophical critic, began raising the method of writing history to a science.

The clergy were the first to enter on the path of freer criticism, and they were soon divided into different schools, according to the orders to which they belonged. The secular priests played a very inferior part in this movement, but the Jesuits were powerful and indefatigable. Amongst them were Sirmond, the collector of dry facts; Labbé, the critic; Bol-



land, the compiler ; Petau, one of the most reliable chronologists ; and Hardouin, the terrible sceptic, who endeavoured to prove that the works of Quintilianus and Gregory of Tours were written as late as the fourteenth century A.D., and that Charles Martel, who was praised for having killed 250,000 infidels with his small army, whilst he lost only 1,007 men, was, after all, a mere myth. Hardouin admitted the reliability and trustworthiness of no historical records, but that of coins and medals.

Opposed to the secular priests and Jesuits were the Benedictines, who formed a deeply-learned body, having but one aim, to free history from all incongruities and impossibilities, and whose bold and critical spirit is very little dreamt of in some of our learned societies. The names of Mabillon and Montfaucon will suffice to illustrate the direction in which the Benedictines worked.

Among the members of the Oratory were Le Long, Le Cointe, and Richard Simon. They all to a certain degree opposed the ruling despotism, and criticised the often assumed historical facts, by means of which the court historians endeavoured to excuse and palliate the growing tyranny of Louis XIV. No less important to the development of a higher critical spirit in history were the Jansenists, with Tillemont at their head, as a most conscientious Church historian, of whose works Voltaire ungraciously said : " Son histoire des Empires et ses seize volumes de l'histoire Ecclesiastique sont écrits avec autant de verité que peuvent l'être des compilations d'anciens historiens " (Siècle de Louis XIV.).

More important than Tillemont was Pascal. In his "Lettres Provinciales et Pensées" there are many original suggestions for historical philosophers, which are valuable to all who seek to treat history from a higher scientific point of view.

The brilliant despotism of Louis XIV. happily began to fade away under his successor, Louis XV., and a phalanx of thinking men of the future sprang up. These *men of the future* had no other basis to stand upon but the *past*. In endeavouring to anticipate coming events they turned their eyes back,

searching for analogies, and by this means were necessarily driven to the study of history. Fontenelle, with his "*Histoire des Oracles*," and St. Evremont's historical works, were the direct outgrowths of this greatly changed spirit of the times.

Voltaire promoted the continuity of this movement, and we cannot properly appreciate his mode of thinking unless we take into consideration the writings of the English Deists ; the terrible quarrels raging between Jesuits and Jansenists on "free will" and "grace" ; the intolerance of Lutherans and Calvinists ; the depraved state of the French court, and succeed in grasping the general spirit of his times. Voltaire asserted that "passion for history is but a child of leisure," that only after long periods of their existence and many vicissitudes people begin to collect materials for the purpose of writing chronicles. The more ancient the times the more mythical are their records. The mythic survives, is next mixed with the fabulous and miraculous, and only here and there some reliable and possible traditions are interwoven. Historians of later periods accept these mixtures, hallowed by repetition, as indisputable facts ; they do not dare to detach the mythical and fabulous from the traditional, the allegorical and metaphorical from really possible occurrences. This confusion is assiduously kept up even in circles boasting of civilization and learning, of honesty and truthfulness. When Voltaire devoted himself to the study of history, he at once attacked the ancient fallacies. He often went too far in his trenchant criticism, but his main object was to shake the existing uncritical spirit of an obstructive and unconditional admiration for everything written in olden times. He opposed all useless details. He wished that historians should devote more attention to the customs, laws, morals, commerce, finances and population of a country ; that only indisputable facts and events should be recorded with their causes and effects ; that the details should serve to illustrate some general principle, and not to obscure the correct understanding of the connection between historical events ; that any written history should have some resemblance to the drama, there ought to

be an *introduction* (exposition), a *plot* (nœud), and a *conclusion* (dénouement).

That Voltaire should not have been popular in certain circles, it is not difficult to understand ; that he should have been accused of revolutionary tendencies, is quite natural ; that he should have been found guilty of heresy, infidelity, and atheism is the lot he had to share with all those who do not choose to walk on the high road of a traditional conventionalism.

Voltaire found that history was made up of court intrigues, minutely described wars, of apparent coincidences, of accounts of family quarrels about provinces no longer in existence. Single individuals, insignificant tribes, towns and villages, bishoprics and abbeys, monasteries and nunneries, corporations and guilds, had in all their pettiness detailed histories "like Alexander the Great." He complained that the annals of one single cloister were more voluminous than the history of the Roman Empire (*Essais et Avant-propos*).

Voltaire went even farther, he dared to reproach the historians of his time with want of courage and critical insight, and too much credulity. He despised their rage for compiling, and their senseless veneration for everything ancient. He objected to their childish attempts to solve insoluble questions, and their inordinate love for indifferent details. He blamed their incapacity for distinguishing important from unimportant, influential and lasting, from insignificant and fleeting events. He laughed at their love of anecdotes, their ignorance of the true aim and lofty tendency of history, and the real moving elements in humanity. He advised them to trace the general character of the different nations, and above all the causes of their obstinate worship of the political and social prejudices of the past.

On the other hand, he praised the Benedictines for their assiduity in compiling facts, and their love of truth ; he extolled Muratori as an honest and fearless critic ; he hurled the most terrible invectives against the Bollandists (who derived their name from John Bolland—1596—1665—mentioned above



amongst the Jesuits) and their eulogist, Dom Ruinart, who took everything asserted in their "*Acta Martyrum*" and "*Vitæ Sanctorum*" for indisputable facts. He was not indifferent to the "*Académie des belles lettres*" when it recognised history as some kind of science. He praised St. Réal's "*Conjuration de Venise*," and pronounced Rayon de Thoiras's "*History of England*" the best work written before Hume. He sympathized with St. Evremont, though he found fault with his undue flightiness (*Lettres sur les Français*). He agreed with Fontenelle, though he ventured to assert that his celebrated "*Histoire des Oracles*" was merely a clever abridgment of the Dutch van Dale's great and learned "*History of Oracles*." But he at once was in arms to defend Fontenelle when he was persecuted by Tellier (the King's confessor), who solicited a "*Lettre de cachet*" against the author of the "*Histoire des Oracles*," which d'Argenson, Keeper of the Great Seal, refused, and thus saved Fontenelle. Voltaire said, "This incident is more important than all the literary bagatelles put together, of which the Abbé Trublet has frothed up a great volume concerning Fontenelle. It shows the danger to which philosophy is exposed when a fanatic or a rascal, or a monk who is both, has unhappily the ear of the Prince."

He warmly supported La Mothe-le-Vayer, the author of a "*Treatise on the Virtue of the Pagans*," against the Jansenists, who propounded with Augustine the idea "that the virtues of the heathens were but brilliant crimes." He stigmatized this notion as "the highest pitch of fanatic insolence." Should none have virtues but those belonging to a certain sect? "That Sokrates, Confucius, Marcus Aurelius, and Epictetus were reprobates, because they were not of our communion," was calmly asserted in the circles of the bigoted of those times. Voltaire relates that he read the following incident in a very curious work about La Mothe-le-Vayer. "One day one of those intolerant demoniacs, seeing le-Vayer pass in the gallery of the Louvre, said aloud: 'There goes a man without religion.' Le-Vayer quietly turned round and said, '*My*



*friend, I have so much religion that I am not of your religion:”* reminding us of Schiller’s “*Mein Glaube*,”

“Welche Religion ich bekenne? Keine von allen,  
Die du mir nennst :—Und warum Keine?”—*Aus Religion*.

Voltaire had, from a French point of view, the bad taste to praise Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, and Newton.

Of *Hobbes* he said that the great English philosopher acknowledged no other religion but that to which the Government gave its sanction.

*Lord Shaftesbury* he praised for having surpassed both Lord Herbert and Hobbes in boldness of thought and beauty of style.

*Toland* he excused on the ground that he had been exasperated by persecution, and that he wrote against Christianity out of hatred and revenge.

Of *Locke* Voltaire says “that he had been wrongfully reckoned among the enemies of the Christian religion.”

*Bishop Taylor* he defends for having “with equal injustice been ranked among infidels.”

*Dr. Tyndal* is to him the most intrepid maintainer of true religion.

*Collins* was, according to Voltaire, “a good metaphysician and a man of great learning.”

*Bolingbroke* he blamed for not having confined himself to condemning the body of divines, but for having also attacked “the Christian religion from which every true statesman may draw the greatest advantages by bringing it back to its bounds, if it has gone beyond them.” Voltaire further says, “It is a pity that so sublime a genius was for tearing up by the root a tree, he might have made very useful, by pruning its branches and clearing it of the moss with which it was overgrown.”

That Voltaire, when hunted down and persecuted at a later period of his life, should have done that which he had blamed in Toland and Bolingbroke is one of the clearest proofs of the law of causation in history, according to which “the same cause must produce the same effect.”

He extolled the English in general for their profound knowledge of classic literature. He saw in Marsham's "Ancient Egypt," in Hyde's work "On the Persians," and in Sale's "Koran," the dawn of brighter days for the much-neglected, or only one-sidedly cultivated study of history. Hume was to Voltaire the very model of an historian. "Never," he says, "had the public been more convinced that only a philosopher ought to write history." On the other hand, he blamed Burnet and Clarendon for their partiality, and says: "*Mais un Anglais veut qu'on soit toujours partial, ou tout Whig, ou tout Tory, et la raison, qui est impartiale, ne l'acomode pas*" (A Frederic II., 1751). (But an Englishman wishes that one should be partial, either all Whig or all Tory, and reason which is impartial, does not suit him.)

All that I have stated proves that Voltaire had some correct notions of what history ought to be, and how it ought to be written and read—notions that now, more than a century after him, deserve our most earnest consideration.

Who could indiscriminately praise Voltaire? He hated Christianity because he mistook clericalism, sectarianism, and despotism for Christianity; because he never troubled himself to draw a distinction between the simple, pure, and divine teachings of Christ, and the additions and distortions His teaching had to undergo in the course of the historical development of dogmatism.

Voltaire was full of vanity, because vanity was the very atmosphere which pervaded the times in which he lived. The title Historiographer to the King turned his brain, as it did that of many another historiographer after him, and he became an intolerant dogmatist. He was equally idolized by kings, courtiers, the people, and autocratic empresses. Mme. la Marquise de Pompadour made him an academician; the great Frederick II. of Prussia treated him as his friend and equal; and Catherine and Elizabeth of Russia admired him unconditionally.

When eighty-four years old, he went to Paris and made a triumphal entry into the city. An Englishman who was at

Ferney, and read the inscription on the church which Voltaire built, "*Deo erexit Voltaire*," exclaimed, with great emphasis, "*Je vois, qu'il n'y a qu'un mot entre Dieu et vous*." Everyone hastened to see the prince of poets, the chief of prophets, the king of philosophers. Actors and nobles, working men, priests, and monks were anxious to catch a glimpse of his bust solemnly crowned at the "*Theatre Français*," when the celebrated hero exclaimed: "*They are suffocating me with roses*" ("*On m'étouffe avec des roses*"). The immortal and venerable Franklin introduced his grandson to him, and the boy knelt before the great man, whilst Voltaire placed his hands on the head of the child, and exclaimed, "*God and Liberty!*" The patriarch of learning was looked upon as the universal theologian of humanity, the adviser of princes, the Titanic slayer of priests and fanatics, the apostle of common-sense, and the redeemer of pure reason. Voltaire was, however, sometimes coarse, sometimes refined, alternately vicious and virtuous, frivolous and pious, superficial and profound. He was often as blinded by prejudices as those whose prejudices he opposed. It cannot be denied that Voltaire was a literary "*Alexander the Great*," who set out to conquer one stronghold of superstition and one empire of prejudices after the other. He had to trample under foot whole legions of antiquated illusions, and it is perhaps natural that he should have destroyed many a beautiful and possibly inoffensive one at the same time. It is not surprising that he should have been impatient, irritable, and that he should not have waited for a broader spread of culture and knowledge to produce on the regular path of progress what he wished to see accomplished over-night. To this feverish eagerness the many poisonous mushrooms of satire, the suffocating creepers of brilliant wit, and the fleeting ephemera of thought that abound in his writings may be ascribed. In every idea that did not exactly please him he saw formidable obstacles to progress, a mighty Chinese wall of obstruction, and he knocked down everything indiscriminately.

Plato was to him a writer of trash and nonsense.



Dante, a gloomy fool.

Petrarch, a monotonous sentimentalist.

Calderon, a mad dreamer.

Spinoza, a dry pedant, "who himself did not understand what he wrote, and naturally could not be understood by any one else."

In a letter addressed to Walpole he speaks of the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophokles as the works of schoolboys when compared with those of the French classics (!). His misfortune was that his mighty imaginative genius was not counter-balanced by firm intellectual principles of logic. When he found that abuse, and not arguments were employed to refute him, he paid back his antagonists and revilers in their own coin, and as he was so much wealthier in wit and satire, he paid them back their capital with compound interest.

Voltaire was accused of having had no heart. On the contrary, he had too sensitive a circulation of the blood. He took offence at every word and line written in opposition to his general principles, and every letter of injustice quivered, like burning lightning, through his excitable brain.

John Morley, in his valuable book on "Voltaire," has given us in a few lines a deep insight into the moving force which actuated Voltaire, and the terrible antagonists with whom he entered into a deadly struggle :—

"The coarse cruelty of the inquisitor or politician, who wrought iniquity by aid of the arm of flesh, was not the only kind of injury to the world which stirred Voltaire's passion. He had imagination enough and intelligence enough to perceive that they are the most pestilent of all the enemies of mankind—the sombre hierarchs of misology, who take away the keys of knowledge, thrusting truth down to the second place, and discrowning sovereign reason to be the serving drudge of superstition or social usage. The system which threw obstacles into the way of publishing an exposition of Newton's discoveries and ideas was as mischievous and hateful to him as the darker bigotry which broke Calas on the wheel because he was a Protestant."



Voltaire saw above all, in a more scientific treatment of history, the only means to remedy the inherited abuses of past ages.

The very titles of his two principal works on history ushered in a new era for the treatment of the subject. The first was called "Philosophie de l'Histoire," and the second, "Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des Nations" (since 1769 published together, the first as "Introduction," or "Discours préliminaire"—not to be confounded with the "Avant-propos," which precede the first chapter of the Essay). Although before Voltaire, Pufendorf, Bolingbroke, and Vico had tried to treat history scientifically, the expression "Philosophy of History," which changed the whole method of reading, studying, and writing history, was first used by Voltaire.

Equally important were Voltaire's "Lettres Philosophiques," written in imitation of Montesquieu's "Lettres Persanes," introducing quite a new method of thinking and reasoning, borrowed from the English Free-thinkers and politicians. "The effect on France of Voltaire's letters can only be compared," says the celebrated Schlosser in his "Universal History" (vol. xiv., p. 120) "to that exercised by Mme. de Staël's book on Germany," and Voltaire's work under the *despotic* and *hierarchical* government of Fleury met the same fate as Mme. de Staël's under the *despotic* and *military* government of Napoleon. Voltaire's work was not only prohibited, but publicly burnt by the hangman. This did not deter him from writing with the utmost severity against the pedantic, vulgar, mechanical, and barren wisdom of the pompous scholastics whose principal aim in writing history was to obscure, to distort, and altogether to deaden man's reasoning faculty.

Voltaire wished to see history placed on a firmer foundation, and taught us to distinguish between myths, fables, and real facts. Our critical spirit, without a systematical philosophical training, must become, if one-sidedly practised, *destructive*; but if properly regulated by a thorough comprehension of the law of causation, it becomes *constructive*.

Voltaire did not altogether reach this higher phase, but he certainly contributed to make historical *construction* or *composition* a possibility, and therein lies his greatest merit.

The scientific treatment of any subject is only then possible when nothing is admitted that contradicts the eternal laws of God and Nature. If we try to trace laws in the universe, why should we not look for them in man?

Did Newton deprive Nature of its God, because he assigned to the phenomena of the moving and revolving planets and suns the law of *gravitation*? Must the Deity cease to exist if we assume forces working in humanity which have their fixed laws traceable in the complicated phenomena of history? Where does gravitation, and where do the forces working in humanity come from?

Never was a more unjust, and at the same time more common, calumny uttered than the accusation of infidelity and atheism against Newton or Voltaire, or any scientist who tried to trace uniformity and stability, and consequently, law in phenomena, whether produced by nature or by man's isolated and combined actions. Myths and fables cannot be the basis of history. Anything contrary to reason, the improbable, the monstrous, the exceptional, must be received with the greatest caution. On this ground Voltaire rejected the first five centuries of Roman history as fabulous.

Voltaire paved the path for Niebuhr and Mommen in clearing the historical ground of Rome of the ancient fable-rubbish, and Voltaire was at all events *indirectly*, if not *directly*, instrumental in enabling others to build up whole systems, tracing the gradual development in the progressive formation of the historical layers of humanity.

We have since learnt, what Voltaire was not then able to accomplish, to distinguish between myths, fables, sagas, folklore, legends, and fairy tales, and we have been enabled by means of induction to discover in these airy products of human imagination, emotion, and credulity, the law of oneness and sameness, producing through the impressions of nature in all the human races at certain stages of their primitive development the

same effects. That Voltaire often saw *intentional falsifications* was more the fault of his sceptical century, in which many ancient notions began to crumble into the dust, than his own. He was not yet able to admit that credulity, hatred, passion, and servility did not *voluntarily assert untruths*; he could not understand how inherited prejudices became brain-ossifications, and petrifications, or splendid crystallizations, totally incapacitating men from seeing facts in their right light, but only reflected through the prism of some crystallized prejudice. It has required, and will yet require, all the tenderness, patience, and skill of very many philosophical historians to remove certain incrustations from our brains for the benefit of truth. History, according to Voltaire, furnished politicians and citizens with the material for instituting comparisons between the present state of a country, and its relations to other times and nations, and thus produced a wholesome mental activity. As a compilation of mistakes and examples history exercised a beneficial influence, especially on those who stood at the head of a government. History was the high school of politics; it fostered the theory of "a proper balance," which had prevented Europe from becoming subject to one single power. "Anéantissez l'étude de l'histoire, vous verrez peut-être des St. Barthélemy en France et des Cromwell en Angleterre." That is, you will see fanatics increase, and disturb the normal progress of a nation. That Voltaire confounded blind sectarian murderers with the calm and determined Puritans who saw the balance of England's morals and intellect sadly disturbed, and determined to readjust it, is less Voltaire's fault than that of his times. History was then in its infancy, and historians were not able to reduce phenomena to the working of fixed forces in humanity, over which the individual had a relative, but no absolute, control. Voltaire was not capable of divesting himself of all pedantic fanaticism. He opposed the customary mode of writing history, and put forward his own, which he at once assumed to be infallible. He objected to the Pope, but proclaimed himself in all matters of literature and taste a Pope.

Whilst the stationary *obstructionists* were opposed by the



mighty *destructive* genius of Voltaire, a third group of *constructive* historians became possible. They may have much in common with Voltaire, but they need not be Voltarians. To assume, that whenever we are unable to assign a cause for an effect there must be a supernatural agent at work, is nothing but taking refuge in an "asylum ignorantiae." We must free man from a cowardly submission to fate, and fill him with a clear consciousness of his nature (through physiology), of his moral duties (through religion), and of his intellectual responsibility for his actions (through scientific history). God is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end of all things. Voltaire calls him the eternal Architect, the Ruler, Transformer, Preserver, Destroyer, and Reconstructor of all moral, intellectual and mechanical forces working in the universe. "He is a God of necessity," a God without whom nature had no sense, no intellect. Like everything else, man is but a creature of God. God gave man a body, and endowed the material elements forming it with the faculty of receiving, through *impressions, sensations*, the sources of his *conscious* power of *reasoning*. Man's very bodily organization forced him into social life, and to frame that life according to uniform moral laws. From one pole to the other the fundamental principles of man's nature are the same, but his general culture is differently developed both morally and intellectually, for man according to his mental training, is more or less capable of progress and perfection. This is the point at which the physiological treatment of man ceases, and philosophy and history step into their rights.

The single acts of individuals, and the collective acts of families, tribes, races, and nations are subject to immutable laws, the disturbances of which form the essence of the different historical phenomena. The statement that "every cause must have an effect," must not be misunderstood. Every incident in history must be the effect of a cause; but every effect need not in its turn be necessarily the cause of some new effect. There are effects that are sterile. We have all been children, but we need not all be again mothers or fathers. There are



causal phenomena that engender effects; but on the other hand there are phenomena that in their turn do not become causes of other phenomena. The more we advance in knowledge, the less we occupy ourselves with the incomprehensible and supernatural; and the more we seek in history for causes and effects that have a causal connection, the more we eliminate altogether the ephemeral and incomprehensible. This is not a denial of the mystic, which cannot be ignored in its wholesome or detrimental influences, but only an honest confession that the mystic can never form the basis of a scientific treatment of history.

Our advanced historical knowledge of the nineteenth century has for its foundation the ideas of the eighteenth century, and we could never have attained our own mode of thinking if we had ignored the works of those philosophical historians who preceded us.

Voltaire, with all his broad views, was often extremely one-sided. He hated the *optimists* (Shaftesbury, Pope, and Leibnitz), and he must be looked upon as the forerunner of our philosophical and historical *pessimists* (Schopenhauer, and Hartmann). But optimism and pessimism are simply phenomenal outgrowths of the acting and counteracting forces working in humanity.

All nature, according to Voltaire, is engaged in a continuous struggle, producing pain and misery. Animal eats animal, all of them living by murder. To reduce this remark to a comprehensible scientific theory was left in our own times to the great Darwin, who, under the formula of "the survival of the fittest," as an easily traceable law throughout unconscious and conscious nature, made an end of all sentimental assumptions of mere chance. Voltaire calls history "un tableau de cruautés et de malheurs des hommes, une suite presque continue des crimes et des désastres," and he wishes, like d'Alembert, to see all lay and ecclesiastical histories thrown into the fire. Voltaire complains of everlasting surprises in history, of sudden unexpected changes, the influences of ignorance and wickedness, of selfishness and arbitrariness, as

if these phenomena had not their natural causes in the disturbed state of the forces working in humanity—disturbed through despotic laws, and artificially kept up ignorance, fostering credulity and blind submission.

A philosophical historian has to teach humanity how to diminish and finally altogether remove these evils; but Voltaire never was constructive. The worst of exceptionally witty and impulsive authors is, that they frequently use a two-edged sword. On one side Voltaire saw in history alone a remedy for all the evils we inherited from the past, and then again, history was to him merely a useless catalogue of unaccountable crimes. Unconsciously he worked into the hands of the bigoted, who were only too delighted to dispense with a study that checked the influence of authority, stimulated inquiry, and disturbed the happy sleep and sluggish inactivity of the credulous masses. History teaches us that evil is a merely relative entity, and vanishes in the physical, as well as the moral sphere, so soon as we are taught to use the divine gift of our intellect in order to become masters of it. The conviction that this is in our power can alone give comfort. Error and delusion make man wicked and miserable. Man's true happiness can only be found in the highest possible development of his reasoning faculty, thoroughly well balanced by his moral consciousness.

Voltaire's was an excitable and perceptive character. His keen sensations were stimulated into action by the most contradictory impressions, which he at once formulated into terse sentences and telling periods, and dispatched them into prose and poetry, dramas and essays, to the printer, and thence into the world. We must here consider Voltaire only as an historian, and as such the sensitive poet, the reviling satirist, the prattler of vain things, the writer of lampoons or indiscriminate eulogies, altogether vanishes, and we find him to have been, in spite of all his faults, a *master-mind*, ready to free the study of history from all antiquated lumber, eager in his search for some kind of law pervading all generous hearts, opposing egotism and wild passion, and inspiring the wise and the good, the true and the reflective of all nations.

The immortal Goethe considered not less than forty-six distinguishing qualities necessary to a great writer :—"Depth, genius, conception, sublimity, naturalness, ability, merit, dignity, intellect, sense of beauty, morals, feeling, sensitive-ness, taste, judgment, reason, accuracy, propriety, manners, method, polish, variety, generalization, richness, productiveness, sentiment, charm, loveliness, grace, pleasantness, ease, vivacity, refinement, brilliancy, sharpness, sprightliness, piquancy, delicacy, ingenuity, style, rhythm, harmony, purity, correctness, elegance, and finish," and adds that of these Voltaire might be said to have been deficient in the first and the last only (depth and finish), but he possessed all the others in the highest possible degree.

Endowed with these varied intellectual accomplishments Voltaire endeavoured to trace laws in history which he called, according to Hume, "the laws of nature," but in doing so he did not deny the Deity ; for nature, according to him, was but the creation of the Deity—ever ready to reward the good and to confound the wicked. To prove that moral laws and intellectual powers were not to be detached from physical laws, Voltaire insisted that in writing history we ought to take into consideration the climate under which a nation lived, and the physico-geographical configuration surrounding it. Why should we find no *Æthiopian Venus* with classic forms ; no *Lapland Herkules* ; no *Newton* born and brought up at *Timbuctoo* ; no *Franklin* amongst the *Kaffirs* ; no *Schiller* or *Goethe* amongst *Hottentots* ; no sculptor amongst the *Chinese* ; no *Bach* or *Mozart* amongst *Sandwich Islanders* ; no *Shakespeare* amongst the *Japanese* ? Have these phenomena nothing to do with the climate and the tribal peculiarities of these races ? The combination of physical geography and ethnology with the study of history we owe to Voltaire, though he fell into some very grievous errors in his first attempts to make physical science the foundation of history. The enlargement of the range of historical studies is also, in great measure, due to Voltaire who, in his superficial and frivolous, but extremely charming way, understood to interest even the middle and



lower classes in Europe in the ignored histories of the Chinese, Indians, Persians and Egyptians.

The law of a systematic historical continuity was unknown to Voltaire. He was as little able to understand the Reformation as he was to grasp Christianity. He despised both Luther and Calvin. He expected from them in the sixteenth century the ideas of the eighteenth. He abhorred dogmatists and fanatics, and held that all religions must necessarily be obstructive and intolerant. He failed to realize that religions had their slow and gradual development like morals and science. Surrounded as he was by French, Spanish, Italian and South German Roman Catholics or Protestants, or by intolerant Hebrew bigots, Voltaire could not grasp the divine doctrine of love and forbearance, the corner-stone of Christianity which in its inner essence is nothing but the unconscious or conscious striving to establish a perfect balance between the moral and intellectual forces, pervading every man individually, and humanity collectively.

In spite of all his violence and mockery, Voltaire forced the thinkers of all nations in Europe to change their method of treating history. Many a ponderously learned professor would disdain to acknowledge the fact that a more systematic study of history took its origin in some apparently superficial hints, thrown out at random by the philosopher of Ferney, who had a broad heart, and yet was narrow-minded enough to assign the Reformation in Germany to the imppecuniosity of the nation. They changed their religion because it was cheaper—"On prit une religion à meilleur marché ;" and yet with all his pettiness Voltaire was great. He never wrote a line in which he sacrificed *unpractical* truth to *practical* superstition. If teachers and authors were to follow his example in this one respect alone, truth would illumine with electric swiftness the darkest recesses of humanity.

We must not be too hostile to Voltaire because he treated English and German Protestants so unjustly ; there is no doubt that the Protestants were, to a certain degree, more intolerant



than the wealthy Roman Catholic hierarchs and monks secure in the possession of their temporalities.

What must have been the feelings of Voltaire against the Protestant clergy who, the moment they had succeeded in shaking off the authority of the Pope, became themselves the most implacable religious and social tyrants. They forbade any one to go to a theatre, or even to witness the performance of private theatricals. They forbade dancing, and threatened dancing-masters with excommunication. They forbade women to paint, and declared, that if any woman persisted in painting, she should not receive the Holy Sacrament. The Greek language, containing the wisdom and philosophy of the ancient world, was to be excluded from all the educational establishments. Hebrew, as a sacred dialect, was to be permitted as uncontaminated by profane writers. They ordered that no person should go to a ball, even as a mere spectator; that no Christian should look at the tricks of conjurers, at the game of goblets, or at a puppet-show. The clergy regulated the length of the hair, "lascivious curls" were strictly forbidden. No tassels to women's dresses were permitted, gloves were to be without silk or ribands; women were to abstain from farthingales, and above all to beware of wide sleeves. (See Buckle, "History of Civilization in England," vol. i., pp. 520-524). Was Voltaire to treat a sect that arrogated to itself such powers seriously? Could he look on Protestantism with the same impartiality as the celebrated Father Curci, a hundred years after him, who, though a Jesuit, ventured to proclaim in his last work, "New Italy and the Old Fanatics," that the Reformation which began in Germany had saved Christendom from destruction and rescued it from the ruin that threatened it through the corruption of the Catholic clergy. Even those provinces in Germany which remained Catholic, and which excel all Latin Christendom in scholarship and pure morals, can only be regarded as having been saved and purified by the Reformation."

Voltaire was persecuted and ostracised by the priests of all sects, and was accused of having offended against the *national*

and *religious feelings of the masses*. Science has nothing to do with feelings, or sentimental emotions (the domains of art); science has only to seek for truth. Whenever feelings, even the most sacred, rule supreme, science is an impossibility. For science can only live where passion is dead. Party-spirit and one-sided enthusiasm may be means of promoting science, but they are not science itself. Only where and when our intellect has acquired the faculty of admiring everything that is good, and rejecting everything that is bad, we may say that we have reached the sphere of a scientific treatment of history. In that lofty sphere considerations of usefulness or practicability ought never to enter. Were truth more harmful than error, we ought even then to have the courage of our opinions and proclaim truth—with caution—so as not to terrify the half-blinded, who hate nothing so intensely as light. Science may pass over with complete indifference the practical cases in which error may be more profitable than truth. Error, in time, acknowledges its own folly, becomes ashamed of its own ignorance and cruelty, and repentantly turns to truth.

All that Lessing, Herder, Gibbon, Schlosser, Rotteck Buckle, &c., worked out in proclaiming freedom of conscience and tolerance had its root in those principles which, though first laid down in England, were soon ignored and despised, but when adopted and amplified by Voltaire, were given as a common good, in a popular form, to the people all over the world. In seven years (1817–1824) not less than eleven editions of Voltaire's works, in more than 2,000,000 copies, were sold in Europe, and we may judge from this what an influence he must have had on the formation of modern thought.

“Adorer Dieu ; laisser à chacun la liberté de le servir selon ses idées ; aimer ses semblables, les éclairer, si l'on peut ; les plaindre, s'ils sont dans l'erreur”—(To worship God ; to let everyone be free to serve Him according to his ideas ; to love one's fellow-creatures ; to enlighten them if one can ; to pity them if they are in error), was Voltaire's creed ; and though he abused Christianity, he proclaimed those eternal laws which form the very essence of true and unalloyed Christianity.

Our duty, as truth-loving historians, is not to repeat malicious calumnies hurled wholesale at individuals or nations, or to pass them over in silence, but to study with an unbiassed mind "groups of events, and the changes and movements that transform communities," and above all the causes that are at work in single individuals as well as in whole nations to effect these changes.

If we hear, then, "that history repeats itself," or that "the same cause produces the same effect," we shall but find the action of law in the different phenomena of history.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to dispel another fallacy chiefly current amongst those who have never read a line either of Voltaire or of Kant, that the latter took all his ideas from the former. In drawing a parallel between the two writers, it will be necessary at the outset to take into consideration the fact that the one had all the characteristics of a scientifically trained Teuton, and the other all the qualities of a witty Frenchman, who hated nothing so much as true profundity.

KANT, after a careful study of "Natural History and the Theory of the Heavens," on the principles of Newton, endeavoured to seek for law in the phenomena of history produced by a universal force.

VOLTAIRE attributed all agency in history to a God of his own creation.

KANT saw the Deity manifesting Himself in law, to study which was our duty. We were to grasp the finite phenomenal effects, and not to analyse the infinite first cause.

VOLTAIRE'S God was a Creator and Preserver of the visible and material world, which He guided according to certain moral laws.

KANT'S God was the "Harmonizer" of the material and spiritual order of the world, showering happiness on all those who made themselves worthy of His blessings through scientific consciousness.

VOLTAIRE advocated general culture, and opposed all authority as an outgrowth of past prejudices.

KANT sternly held up the law of continuity, and wished to



see civilization advanced on the principle of a progressive development of culture.

VOLTAIRE was dogmatic, though he hated dogmatism.

KANT was a correct reasoner, and saw in dogmas merely an attempt to explain the incomprehensible, and wished to supersede them by science.

VOLTAIRE held up the theory of retribution—the “lex talionis.”

KANT lays no stress on it, and adjures humanity to have faith in its own higher destiny.

VOLTAIRE was incapable of drawing a distinction between faith and science. All faith was contemptible superstition with him ; science only an understanding of reality.

KANT looked upon faith as an indispensable necessity, but he never admitted it as a force able to supplant science.

VOLTAIRE insisted upon a belief in a Deity, and co-ordinated to this belief the postulate : be good and just.

KANT demanded above all morals and justice, and subordinated faith to the fulfilment of our duties as self-conscious human beings.

VOLTAIRE assumed man to be of a double nature, good and evil, and looked for the eradication of evil through the superior collective force of individuals, combined into a special state organization.

KANT considered our animal nature the stronger, and asserted the necessity of the act of redemption and salvation through the divine gift of reason, developed *morally* through religion, and *intellectually* through science.

VOLTAIRE scouted this theory altogether, and attributed to *evil* the same force as to good.

KANT took *Christianity*, in its reformed phase, as the basis of modern history, and saw in the Church, progressing with the more enlightened spirit of the times, a necessary institution for the welfare of the masses. Kant enabled us to bring harmony into faith, as the element of our moral and emotional nature, and into science, as the element of our in-



tellectual and reasoning nature. Kant taught us that these two elements were not to be placed in destructive antagonism, but that they were to be combined, and that in completing one another they produced in individuals, and any number of individuals, the highest state of civilization.

VOLTAIRE detached his deity altogether from history. He saw only mischief in any organization of priests, discarded all dogmas, and in his negation went so far as to sever humanity from the foundation of Christianity which produced the whole of our slow but gradually progressive moral and intellectual evolution.

KANT was a *constructive*, philosophical scientist.

VOLTAIRE was a *destructive*, arguing satirist.

KANT, with his scientifically trained reason, devoted himself more to the development of *dynamics*—the *intellectual* force in humanity.

VOLTAIRE, with his uncontrolled power of imagination, in spite of all his apparently cold arguings, endeavoured to develop *statics*, the *moral* force which he assumed to be innate in man.

This paper will have fulfilled its purpose, if I have succeeded in stimulating some of you to consider Voltaire and Kant with unbiassed minds as thinkers who strove to find new solutions to the problems presented by history. Let us imitate the bees, capable of collecting honey even from poisonous plants, and let us extract wisdom from writings that, though not exactly alike, often pursue on different paths an analogous aim. The terrible thunderstorm and the mountain torrent, both devastating the old emotional world, are, in the economy of history, as necessary and beneficial as the calm and vivifying stream that winds its way through the shoals of prejudices, the whirlpools of passion, and gently sweeps them away into the ocean of oblivion.

VOLTAIRE was an emotional mountain torrent.

KANT the calm stream of bright reasoning.

They both took their origin in one mighty historical spring,

the genial philosopher, HUME, without whom neither Voltaire nor Kant could have followed the intellectual direction which they took, proving the oneness and solidarity of the thinkers of all nations who are earnestly engaged in endeavouring to understand the spirit of the times, and determined to advance the interests of historical truth.

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# The Royal Historical Society,

22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SESSION 1880-1.

THE Council have much pleasure in presenting their Annual Report of the past Session to the General Meeting of the Fellows, by which it will be seen that the Society has been actively engaged in promoting the principal objects for which it has been founded.

The Papers read by Fellows at the Monthly Meetings, on different historical subjects, were the following : —

1. The Transfer of the German Army to the King of France in the Seventeenth Century. By JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., V.P.R.Hist.S.
2. History of Theatres in London, from their first opening in 1576 to their closing in 1642. By FREDERICK G. FLEAY, Esq., M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
3. The Battle of Ockley, between Ethelwulf and the Danes, A.D. 851. By HENRY E. MALDEN, Esq., M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

4. Nestor, the Early Russian Chronicler, *circa* 1100. By the Rev. ALBERT H. WRATISLAW, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
5. New Facts in the History of the Pronunciation of the English Language. By FREDERICK G. FLEAY, Esq., M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
6. Notes on the History of Eastern Exploration, Discovery, and Adventure, with Special Bearing on our Inter-course with Japan. By CHARLES PFOUNDEN, Esq., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S.
7. Dr. John Coles, Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Henry VII. and VIII. By the Rev. A. R. PENNINGTON, F.R.Hist.S.
8. Notices of the Pilgrim Fathers, John Eliot, and his Friends of Nazing and Waltham Abbey, from unprinted sources. By WILLIAM WINTERS, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.
9. The Connection between History and Allegory in certain Poems by Chaucer. By FREDERICK G. FLEAY, Esq., M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
10. Historical Review of the Character of Archbishop Cranmer and Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. By OLIVER A. AINSLEY, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, F.R.Hist.S.
11. Analogy between Jewish and Christian Baptism in the Apostolic Age. By J. BAKER GREENE, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, M.B., LL.B., F.R.Hist.S.
12. The Struggle of the Christian Civilization from the Era of the Crusaders to the Fall of the East (1453), Section IV. By the Rev. Prebendary IRONS, D.D., F.R.Hist.S.



13. Life and Character of President Lincoln. By the Hon. ISAAC N. ARNOLD, F.R.Hist.S.
14. Notes from the Parish Registers of Penrith. By the Rev. EDWARD KING, B.A., F.S.A. Scot., F.R.Hist.S.
15. Voltaire in his relation to the Study of General History from a Philosophical Point of View. By G. G. ZERFFI, Esq., Ph.D., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S.
16. Data for the Early History of the Mediterranean Population, from Autonymous Coins, Jewels, &c. By HYDE CLARKE, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.

It will be seen from the preceding list that the Society is entirely unpolitical and unsectarian in its aims and objects.

In order to interest a larger section of the public in the study of History, the Council, at their meeting held in June, 1880, passed a resolution appointing Dr. Zerffi to deliver, without any charge to the Society, a course of 30 Lectures, "On the Science of General History." These Lectures were given, by special permission of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, in the Lecture Theatre, South Kensington Museum, and were attended by 5,380 persons, making an average of 179 per Lecture.

Nine papers have been received in competition for the Prize Essay "On the Study of General History from a Scientific Point of View." Though some of the papers are creditable, the publishing Committee could not conscientiously award the prize of £10 10s. to any of them.

The Council have issued Vol. IX. of the Transactions for the year 1880.

In consequence of a resolution passed at their meeting in January, 1881, they will publish one more volume (for 1881), in

the present form, to complete the Series of ten. After that they will issue "Quarterly Parts" of their Transactions.

The Rules of the Society having been found in practice to be defective, the Council prepared a new set of Rules, based upon those of other learned societies, which were adopted at a Special General Meeting on the 11th November last. It is believed that under the new code, now in force, the work of the Society will be carried on in the future with greater ease and regularity. A copy of the Rules will be forwarded to each Fellow.

The number of Ordinary Fellows on the Roll continues to increase. Since the 1st January last the Council has admitted 76 Fellows, and lost by death 4, by resignation 28, and through non-payment of the annual subscription 7 Fellows.

*The following list shows the number of Fellows on the Roll :*

	1st Jan., 1881.	31st Oct., 1881.
Ordinary Fellows.....	424	458
Life " .....	74	78
Ex Officio " .....	2	2
Honorary " .....	59	60
Corresponding Fellows .....	22	22
Total .....	581	620

The Society has had to lament the death of the following distinguished Honorary Fellows since the last Report, viz. :—The Right Hon. Earl BEACONSFIELD, the Very Rev. Dean STANLEY, THOMAS CARLYLE, and among the Fellows the Rev. H. O. COXE, Librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

The Council give notice that, under Rule 6, the two retiring Vice-Presidents are :—

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBURY.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD SELBORNE.

And that the four retiring members of the Council are: -

GUSTAVUS GEORGE ZERFFI, Esq, Ph.D., F.R.S.L., *Chairman*.

RIGHT HON. EARL FERRERS.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD RONALD GOWER.

REV. J. M. CROMBIE, F.G.S., F.L.S.

All of whom are eligible for re-election.

The Council have great pleasure in drawing the attention of the Fellows to the improved financial condition of the Society, which at the end of last Session was burdened with a debt of £216 03. 1d., in addition to the liability for issuing Vol. IX. of the Transactions for 1880, whereas now the estimated liabilities only amount to £65 6s. 9d., besides the cost of the Volume due to Fellows for 1881, estimated at £200.

The income of the Society for the past financial year was more than sufficient to discharge every liability incurred by the Society during that period.

Lastly, the Council append the Treasurer's Receipts and Payments since the date of the last account on 12th May last up to the end of the present financial year, ending 31st October, 1881, viz. :—

# TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS from 13<sup>th</sup> MAY to 31<sup>st</sup> OCTOBER, 1881.

## RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
1881.			
May 13			
to			
Oct. 31.	211	11	7
Subscriptions, Entrance Fees, Sale of Books, and Sundries .. ..			

## DISBURSEMENTS.

1881.				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
May 13.	Balance against the Society						72	14	0
May 13	Rent to Michaelmas, 1881						15	3	1
to	Printing and Stationery	..		13	2	10			
Oct. 31.	Circulars, Postages, and Sunday Accounts	..		23	7	11			
	Advertisements	..		18	16	0			
	Bank Charges	..		4	4	0			
	Petty Expenses	..		6	8	0			
	Refreshments at Monthly Meetings	..		3	3	6			
	Straker and Son, for Binding and Delivering Vol. IX.						69	2	3
	Balance in Hand	..					31	13	0
							22	19	3

£211 11 7

£211 11 7

JAMES JUDD, }  
R. HOVENDEN. } *Auditors.*



TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS for the YEAR ENDING 31st OCT., 1881.

[illegible]

1880.	DISBURSEMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Nov. 1	{ Balance of Liabilities outstanding on ac-			
to	{ count of 1880 (Financial Year ending			
Oct. 31,	{ 31st October, 1880):—			
18 81.	{ J. and W. Rider, naac-			
	{ count of Printing .. £239 16 6			
	{ McFarlane and Co., do. .. 8 4 0			
	{ Subscription to Chesham			
	{ Society, 1880 .. .. 1 0 0			
	{ Do., refunded .. .. 5 5 0			
	{ Rent to Michaelmas, 1880 7 10 0			
	Liabilities incurred since 1st November,	261	15	6

Liabilities incurred since 1st November, 1880:—		89	10	8
Dr. Rogers' Salary to January 5, 1881	..	£	79	0
Do. Petty Expenses, do. ..	..	10	9	10
<hr/>				
Rent to Michaelmas, 1881		29	16	3
Account Books, Printing, and Stationery ..	..	45	4	10
Postages, Circulars, and Sundry Accounts..	..	37	13	9
Advertisements ..	..	33	16	0
Subscriptions to other Societies—Camden ..	..	1	0	0
Do — Chesham ..	..	1	0	0
Bank Charges ..	..	4	4	0
Petty Expenses ..	..	14	16	9
Refreshments at Monthly Meetings ..	..	8	9	6
<hr/>				
Straker and Son, for Binding and Delivering Vol. IX.		176	1	1
Balance in hand ..	..	31	13	0
	..	22	19	3

JAMES JUDD, }  
R. HOVENDEN, }

£581 19 6

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT of ASSETS and LIABILITIES on**  
**31st October, 1881.**

1881.			1881.		
Oct. 31.	Balance in hands of	£ s. d.	Oct. 31.	J. and W. Rider's	£ s. d.
	Treasurer ..	22 19 3		Account for Print-	
	Outstanding Sub-			ing Vol. IX., &c.	137 13 0
	scriptions, £98				
	14s. — say 50				
	per cent. re-				
	coverable ..	49 7 0			
	Balance against the				
	Society ..	65 6 9			
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		£137 13 0			£137 13 0

JAMES JUDD, }  
R. HOVENDEN, } *Auditors.*

THE Auditors appointed to examine the Treasurer's Account for the year 1881, report:—

That they have carefully compared the entries in his books with the vouchers for the same from 1st November, 1880, to 31st October, 1881, and find them correct, showing the receipts (including a balance of £38 5s. 5d. from 1880) to have been £581 19s. 6d., and the payments £559 os. 3d., leaving a balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 31st October, 1881, of £22 19s. 3d.

They have also had laid before them an estimate of the assets and liabilities of the Society, the former amounting to £72 6s. 3d., and the latter to £137 13s., leaving a balance against the Society of £65 6s. 9d., as against £216 os. 1d. due on the 31st October, 1880. They further find that on the 1st January, 1881, the number of Fellows on the roll, in accordance with the last Report, was 581, which number was diminished in the course of the year to the extent of 39 by deaths, resignations, and defaulters, and that 76 new Fellows were elected, leaving the list on 31st October, 1881, 618 Fellows.

JAMES JUDD, }  
R. HOVENDEN, } *Auditors.*

From the foregoing it cannot be doubted that the anticipations of the Council in their last Report have, in a great measure, been realised, and that, with the cordial co-operation of the Fellows, the society is vigorously and efficiently increasing its power of discharging its high mission in promoting the important study of history.

By Order,

G. G. ZERFFI, PH.D., F.R.S.L.,

*Chairman of the Council.*

WILLIAM HERBAGE,

17th November, 1881.

*Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

Dear Sir,  
I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, however, unable to give you any definite answer at this time, as the matter is still under consideration. I will, however, keep you advised of any further developments.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours truly,  
[Signature]  
[Name]  
[Title]  
[Institution]

Very truly yours,  
[Signature]  
[Name]  
[Title]  
[Institution]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637  
[Signature]  
[Name]  
[Title]  
[Institution]



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